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The M. S. University Oriental Series, No. 4

GĪRVĀṆAPADAMAÑJARĪ
AND
GĪRVĀṆAVĀṄMAÑJARĪ

Edited with an Introduction
by

Umakant Premanand Shah
M.A., Ph.D., Dipl. in Museology.

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General Editor
B. J. Sandesara
Director, Oriental Institute, Baroda

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Umakant Premanand Shah
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FOREWORD

The Gīrvāṇapadamañjarī and Gīrvāṇavāṅmañjarī were published in Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. VII, no. 4 (June, 1958) and the Introduction to them appeared in instalments in subsequent issues of the JOI, Vol. VIII, nos. 1 to 4, Vol. IX. nos. 1-3 (from September, 1958 to March, 1960). The work is being published here as M. S. University Oriental Series No. 4.

These two small texts, though originally composed for teaching Sanskrit by direct method, have, like the Ukti-Vyakti-Prakaraṇa (published in Singhī Series), supplied to us good deal of cultural data for c. 17th century A. D. and as such they are valuable documents for students of Indian culture.

Dr. Umakant Shah has, in his exhaustive Introduction, laid due stress on this aspect of the two texts and has discussed the cultural data at considerable length. The Introduction has thus served the purpose of a cultural study of the two texts. Readers will, therefore, excuse us for putting the Introduction after the printed text in this volume.

While the Introduction was being published in instalments in the JOI it was widely appreciated and I hope students of Indian Culture will be glad to receive this in a bound volume.

Baroda,
30th November, '60

B. J. SANDESARA
Director

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॥ गीर्वाणपदमञ्जरी[१] ॥

श्रीगणेशाय नमः ।

केवलवैदिकानां व्यवहारार्थं कतिपयसंस्कृतपदानि मया विलिख्यन्ते[२] ॥

"अरे मया स्नानार्थं गम्यते[३] ।
"शीघ्रं गन्तव्यम्[४] । पाकस्तु जातः ।"
"कति ब्राह्मणाः भोजनार्थमानेयाः[५] ।"
"एक एव ब्राह्मणः आनेयः ।

"स्नानसामग्री तर्हि दातव्या । जलपात्रं ग्राह्यम् । कुशाः ग्राह्याः । तिलाः ग्राह्याः[६] । खड्गपात्रं ग्राह्यम् । तिलकसाधनं ग्राह्यम् । शुद्धवस्त्रं ग्राह्यम् । उत्तरीयं ग्राह्यम् ।"

एतत्सर्वं गृहीत्वा मणिकर्णिकायां गत्वा यथाविधि स्नात्वा[७] संन्यासिनां समुदाये गत्वा दण्डप्रणामं कृत्वा "स्वामिनः भिक्षार्थं आगन्तव्यम्" इति प्रार्थितवान्[८] । स्वामिनः ऊचुः—

"कति संन्यासिन अपेक्षिताः[९] । द्राविडाः वा अपेक्षिताः । आन्ध्राः[१०] वा अपेक्षिताः । कार्णाटकाः वा अपेक्षिताः । महाराष्ट्राः वा आभीराः[११] वा अपेक्षिताः । गौर्जराः[१२] वा अपेक्षिताः । गौडाः वा अपेक्षिताः । मैथिलाः वा अपेक्षिताः । औत्कलाः[१३] वा अपेक्षिताः । कान्यकुब्जाः वा अपेक्षिताः । सारस्वताः वा अपेक्षिताः ।"

"एकः कार्णाटकोऽपेक्षितः ।"
"कुत्र स्थीयते भवता ।"
"काश्यां स्थीयते मया ।"

"काश्यामपि क्व स्थीयते त्वया । राजघट्टे वा स्थीयते, गोघट्टे वा स्थीयते,[१४] त्रिलोचनघट्टे वा स्थीयते । [१५]ब्रह्मघट्टे वा विद्यते दुर्गाघट्टे वा विद्यते, बिन्दुमाधवघट्टे वा विद्यते, मङ्गलागौरीघट्टे वा स्थीयते । रामघट्टे वा स्थीयते । अग्नीश्वरघट्टे वा स्थीयते । नागेश्वरघट्टे वा स्थीयते । वीरेश्वरघट्टे वा स्थीयते । सिद्धिविनायकघट्टे वा तिष्ठसि त्वम् । स्वर्गद्वारप्रदेशे वा तिष्ठसि त्वम् । मोक्षद्वारप्रदेशे वा तिष्ठसि त्वम् । गङ्गाकेशवपार्श्वे वा तिष्ठसि त्वम् । जरासंधघट्टे वा वर्तसे त्वम् । वृद्धादित्यघट्टे वा वर्त्तसे

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१ B. on folio 1a has ॥ अथ बृहद्भाषामंजिरि प्रारम्भः ॥ The text begins on Folio 1b in B. O has no title on folio 1a and the text begins on folio 1b.
२ O. omits केवल.....विलिख्यते ॥ ३ N.B. गन्तव्यं. ४ B—शीघ्रं गन्तव्य । O omits
५ O—अरेयाः ६ O—omits तिला ग्राह्याः । ७ O—स्नानं कृत्वा ८ O—प्रार्थयेत् ।
९ N & B add after this, कियन्तः संन्यासिनः अपेक्षिताः । १० O—अंध्रा ११ O & B—अभीरा N—आभीरा. १२ O—गुर्ज्जरा १३ O—औत्कना B—औकुला १४ B omits १५ O omits ब्रह्मघट्टे......मङ्गलागौरी घट्टे वा विद्यते ।

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त्वम् । **सोमेश्वरघ०** वा स्थीयते । **दशाश्वमेधे** वा तिष्ठसि त्वम् । **चतुःषष्टियोगिनीघ०** वा वर्त्तसे त्वम् । [१]**सर्वेश्वरघ०** वा विद्यसे त्वम् । **मानसरोवरे** वा तिष्ठसि त्वम् । **केदारेश्वरघ०** वा स्थीयते । **रामेश्वरे** वा स्थीयते । **लोलार्के** वा स्थीयते । **असीसङ्गमे** वा स्थीयते । **वरुणासङ्गमे** वा स्थीयते । ''

" बिन्दुमाधवघट्टे अहं तिष्ठामि स्वामिनः । "

" बिन्दुमाधवघट्टेऽपि कुत्र तिष्ठसि त्वम् । **लक्ष्मीनृसिंहसमीपे** वा तिष्ठसि त्वम् । [२]**पञ्चगङ्गेश्वरनिकटे** वा तिष्ठसि त्वम् । **आदिविश्वेश्वरनिकटे** वा तिष्ठसि त्वम् । **दक्षेश्वरसन्निधौ** वा तिष्ठसि त्वम् । **दुग्धविनायकनिकटे** वा तिष्ठसि त्वम् । **कालभैरवनिकटे** वा तिष्ठसि त्वम् । ''

" दुग्धविनायकनिकटे तिष्ठाम्यहं स्वामिनः । "

" **दुग्धविनायकनिकटे** कस्य गृहे वर्त्तसे त्वम् । **तिम्माभट्टगृहे** वर्त्तसे त्वम् । **रामभट्टगृहे** वा वर्त्तसे त्वम्[३] । **शिवभट्टगृहे** वा वर्त्तसे त्वम् । [४]**लक्ष्मणभट्टगृहे** वा वर्त्तसे त्वम् । [५]**कृष्णभट्टगृहे** वा वर्त्तसे त्वम् । **नारायणभट्टगृहे** त्वं वर्त्तसे **भैरवभट्टगृहे** वर्त्तसे [वा] ।

" शिवभट्टगृहे अहं वर्त्ते[६] । "

" **शिवभट्टगृहेऽपि पूर्वशालायां** त्वं विद्यसे । अथवा **दक्षिणशालायां** विद्यसे **पश्चिमशालायां** विद्यसे [७]**उत्तरशालायां** वा विद्यसे । **प्रासादे** वा विद्यसे । "

" उत्तरशालायां तिष्ठामो वयं स्वामिनः । "[८]

" तव नामधेयं कथं व्यवहरन्ति जनाः । "

" मम नाम **अलर्षियुधमखजकृत्पुरन्दर**-गरुडध्वज-**वाजपेयी**ति व्यवहरन्ति जनाः । "

" एतादृशं स्थूलं नाम धृतवानसि । त्वया किं किं पठितमस्ति । "

" **वेदचतुष्टयं साङ्गं** पठितमस्ति । **दर्शनषट्कं साङ्गं** [९]पठितमस्ति । "

" तेषां नामानि कानि । "

" **ऋग्वेदः** । **यजुर्वेदः** । **सामवेदः** । **आथर्वणवेदः**[१०] । इति चत्वारो वेदाः । "

शिक्षा कल्पो व्याकरणं निरुक्तं छन्दो ज्योतिष[११]मिति षडङ्गानि ।

वैशेषिकं तर्कः साङ्ख्यं योगः मीमांसा वेदान्त इति षड् दर्शनानि[१२] ।

" तेषां स्थानानि कानि । अङ्गानामुपाङ्गानां च । "

" **मुखं** व्याकरणं **वेदस्य**[१३] **ज्योतिषं नेत्रमुच्यते ।**

निरुक्तं श्रोत्रमुद्दिष्टं[१४] **छन्दसां विचितिः**[१५] **पदे ॥**

शिक्षा घ्राणं तु वेदस्य हस्तौ कल्पान्प्रचक्षते[१६] **।**

गुदद्वारं न्यायशास्त्रं लिङ्गं वैशेषिकं स्मृतम् ॥

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१ O omits सर्वेश्वर....केदारेश्वरघट्टे वा स्थीयते । २ O omits पञ्चगङ्गेश्वर......दक्षेश्वरसन्निधौ वा तिष्ठसि त्वम् । ३ B & O omit ref. to तिम्माभट्ट & रामभट्ट. ४ B. and N. omit ५ O omits ६ O–वर्तते । ७ B repeats उत्तरशालायां विद्यसे । ८ O—अहं उत्तरशालायां तिष्ठामि स्वामिनः । ९ N. omits साङ्गं. O—पाठित० १० O—अथर्ववेदः ११ N. B.—ज्यौतिषमिति O—ज्योतिषः १२ O omits इति षड्दर्शनानि १३ N.B.—मुख्यं व्याकरणं तस्य १४ O—निरुक्तं छंदोश्रात्रमुद्दिष्टं । १५ O—विविति १६ O—प्रचक्षते

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पृष्ठवंशस्तु मीमांसा साङ्ख्ययोगौ तु पार्श्वकौ ।
ब्रह्मरन्ध्रं तु वेदान्तमिति ज्ञात्वा पठेन्नरः ॥ ''
'' अन्यत्किञ्चित्पठितमस्ति । ''
'' काव्यं पठितं नाटकमपि पठितम्[१] । अलङ्कारमपठिषम्[२] ।
स्मृतिमपठिषम्[३] । सङ्गीतमपठिषम्[४] । ''

'' अतिसमीचीनं जातम् । श्रोत्रियोऽसि । अयं त्रिविक्रमाश्रम आयास्यति भिक्षार्थम् । अनेन भवतां गृहं न ज्ञायते सहैव गृहीत्वा गृहे [५]गन्तव्यं त्वया । ''

'' अवश्यं गृहीत्वा गम्यते मया । ''

ततः गृहे आगत्य—'' अरे चरणप्रक्षालनार्थं स्वामिनामुदकं दातव्यम् '' । इति उक्तवान् । ततो उदके दत्ते सति पादौ प्रक्षाल्य पीठे उपवेश्य[६] '' स्वामिनां पूर्वाश्रमे को ग्रामः '' इति पृष्टवान् ।

'' अस्माकं पूर्वाश्रमे **विद्यानगरम्**[७] ''
'' तत्र किं किं वर्त्तते[८] ''
'' तत्र सर्वे पदार्थाः वर्त्तन्ते । ''
'' तत्र के के पदार्थाः विद्यन्ते ।

'' वज्र-वैडूर्य-गोमेद-पुष्पराग-मुक्ताफलादीनि सर्वरत्नानि सन्ति । सुवर्ण-रजत-ताम्रादीनि लोहानि सन्ति । समीचीनानि वस्त्राणि सन्ति । समीचीनं मलयचन्दनमस्ति । भीमसेनीकर्पूरमस्ति । कस्तूर्यस्ति । समीचीनानि क्रमुकफलानि सन्ति । नागवल्लीदलानि श्वेततराणि[९] सन्ति । उत्तमलवङ्गाः सन्ति । [१०]नालिकेरफलानि वर्त्तन्ते । कदलीफलानि सन्ति । श्वेतपुनर्नवालताः सन्ति । निष्पावलताः सन्ति । ताम्बूलीलताः सन्ति । मरीचलताः सन्ति । द्राक्षालताः विद्यन्ते । गुडूचीलताः विद्यन्ते । सोमलताः विद्यन्ते । [११]फतीकतृणानि वर्तन्ते । [१२]मूषकपर्णीलताः विद्यन्ते[१३] । उत्तरणीलताः विद्यन्ते । वज्रवल्लीलताः सन्ति । गुञ्जालताः सन्ति । गोक्षुरकलताः सन्ति ।

अश्वत्थवृक्षाः सन्ति । वटवृक्षाः सन्ति । प्लक्षवृक्षाः सन्ति[१४] । जम्बूवृक्षाः[१५] सन्ति । [१६]आम्रवृक्षाः सन्ति । सहकारवृक्षाः सन्ति । आमलकीवृक्षाः सन्ति । कुवलीवृक्षाः[१७] सन्ति । [१८]तिन्तिणीवृक्षाः सन्ति । निम्बूवृक्षाः सन्ति । कपित्थवृक्षाः सन्ति । दाडिमवृक्षाः सन्ति । पनसवृक्षाः सन्ति । बिल्ववृक्षाः सन्ति । मधुवृक्षाः सन्ति । नारङ्गीवृक्षाः सन्ति । जम्बीरवृक्षाः सन्ति । तमालवृक्षाः सन्ति । तालवृक्षाः सन्ति । क्रमुकवृक्षाः सन्ति । नारिकेलवृक्षाः सन्ति । शालवृक्षाः सन्ति । हरीतकीवृक्षाः सन्ति । निम्बवृक्षाः सन्ति । महानिम्बवृक्षाः सन्ति । खदिरवृक्षाः सन्ति । धववृक्षाः सन्ति । अशोकवृक्षाः सन्ति । कदलीवनानि

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१ N.काव्यमपठिषम् । नाटकमपठिषम् । O—नाटकमपठितम् २ O—अलंकारं पठितं ३ O—स्मृतिमपठितं ४ O—सांगीतमपठितं ५ B—सहैव गृहीत्वा गन्तव्यं O—सहैव गृहे गंतव्यं ६ O—उपविश्य ७ O. B—विद्यानगरः ८ O—तत्र किं वर्त्तते । ९ O—श्वेततितराणि. १० B—नारीकेल. ११ O—फतीक्रु B—पूतीक ? फतीक ? १२ O—मुषुपर्णी. १३ O adds कपित्थवृक्षाः सन्ति which is obviously an error here. १४ O omits वटवृ० and प्लक्षवृ० १५ O—जंबुकवृक्षाः १६ O adds अशोवक कदलीवनानी सं० १७ O—कदलीवृ० वेणवा सन्ति । १८ O omits तिन्तिणीवृक्षाः……धववृक्षाः सन्ति ।

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सन्ति । वेणवः सन्ति । बदरीवृक्षाः सन्ति । खर्जूरीवृक्षाः सन्ति । [१]पारिजातवृक्षाः सन्ति । अर्कवृक्षाः सन्ति । स्तु(स्नु)हीवृक्षाः सन्ति । निर्गुण्डिवृक्षाः सन्ति । भूर्जवृक्षाः सन्ति । चम्पकवृक्षाः सन्ति । पाटलवृक्षाः सन्ति । कलिद्रुमाः[२] सन्ति । बकुलद्रुमाः सन्ति । पलाशतरवः सन्ति । शिग्रुतरवः सन्ति । [३]उदुम्बरतरवः सन्ति । अर्जुनतरवः सन्ति ।

इक्षुगुल्माः सन्ति । [४]एलागुल्माः वर्त्तन्ते । [५]धत्तूरगुल्माः वर्त्तन्ते । [६]केतकीगुल्माः वर्त्तन्ते । बृहतीगुल्माः वर्त्तन्ते । [७]कण्टकाटी(री)गुल्माः वर्त्तन्ते । [८]चित्रकगुल्माः वर्त्तन्ते । [९]महाटी (?) गुल्माः वर्त्तन्ते । करवीरगुल्माः वर्त्तन्ते । जातीगुल्माः वर्त्तन्ते । मल्लीकागुल्माः वर्त्तन्ते । मालतीगुल्माः वर्त्तन्ते । [१०]शृङ्गवेरगुल्माः सन्ति । हरिद्रागुल्माः सन्ति । अपामार्गगुल्माः सन्ति । तुलसीगुल्माः सन्ति ।

बन्धूकपुष्पाणि सन्ति । पाटलपुष्पाणि सन्ति । पुन्नागपुष्पाणि सन्ति । केतकीपुष्पाणि सन्ति । [११]कादम्बपुष्पाणि सन्ति । [१२]जपाकुसुमानि सन्ति । बिल्वपत्राणि विद्यन्ते । तुलसीपत्राणि विद्यन्ते । तुलसीदलानि सन्ति । जातीकुसुमानि सन्ति । मल्लिकाकुसुमानि सन्ति । चम्पककुसुमानि सन्ति । करवीरकुसुमानि सन्ति । बकुलकुसुमानि विद्यन्ते । अरविन्दपुष्पाणि सन्ति । कुमुदपुष्पाणि सन्ति । कुवलयपुष्पाणि सन्ति । [१३]उत्पलपुष्पाणि सन्ति ।

महान्ति सरांसि विद्यन्ते । [१४]सरसी विद्यते । स्वामिनः तडागानि विद्यन्ते[१५] ।"

इत्युक्ते, —

"किं नद्यः न सन्ति । **दक्षिणदेशे** बह्व्यः **नद्यः** वर्त्तन्ते । **काकानदी** वर्त्तते । **ताम्रपर्णी** वर्त्तते । **घृतम(मा)ली**[१६] वर्त्तते । **कावेरी** वर्त्तते । **पयस्विनी** वर्त्तते । **तुङ्गभद्रा** वर्त्तते । **कृष्णवेणी**[१७] वर्त्तते । **गोदावरी** वर्त्तते । एताः महानद्यः अन्या बह्वः नद्यः असङ्ख्याताः सन्ति ।"

"स्वामिनः भवतां देशे कानि कानि तीर्थानि सन्ति ।"

"**सेतुबन्धरामेश्वरो** वर्त्तते । **कन्याकुमारी** वर्त्तते । **अनन्तसेनक्षेत्रं** वर्त्तते । [१८]**जनार्दनक्षेत्रं** वर्त्तते । **गोकर्णक्षेत्रं** वर्त्तते । **महाबलेश्वरतीर्थं** वर्त्तते । **पुण्डरीकपुरक्षेत्रं** वर्त्तते । **त्र्यम्बकक्षेत्रं** वर्त्तते । **नासिकाक्षेत्रं**[१९] वर्त्तते । **धर्मपुरीक्षेत्रं** वर्त्तते । **गोदावरीसङ्गमोऽस्ति** । **कृष्णासङ्गमोऽस्ति** । **कावेरीसङ्गमोऽस्ति** । **ताम्रपर्णीसङ्गमोस्ति** । **श्रीशैलक्षेत्रमस्ति**[२०] । **काञ्चीक्षेत्रमस्ति** । **सुब्रह्मण्यतीर्थमस्ति** । **शङ्करनारायणक्षेत्रमस्ति** । **वेङ्कटाचलक्षेत्रमस्ति** । **कालहस्तिक्षेत्रमस्ति** । अन्यान्यपि तीर्थान्यनेकानि वर्त्तन्ते ।"

"स्वामिनः अतः परं भिक्षा भवतु ।"

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१ O omits पारिजात....अर्कवृक्षाः सन्ति । २ O—कलिंद्रुमाः ३ B—उदम्बर० ४ O—एतागुल्माः ५ O—धतूर० B—धत्तूर ६ The order of गुल्माः adopted in the text is from B. O mentions करवीर गुल्माः after धतूर०, बृहतीगु० जातकी०, मल्लीका and मालती० after केतकीगुल्मा, but before कण्टकारीगु० ७ B—कंटकाटी० O—कंटिकारा ८ O—चित्रगुल्माः ९ B—महाटी० O—महांठि० १० O—शृंगवेश ११ O—कदंब १२ O—जवा० १३ O omits कुवलय० १४ O omits सरसी विद्यन्ते । १५ B repeats. १६ B—घृतमली० O—घृतमाली० १७ O—कृष्णवेण. १८ C begins here on Folio 6a. Other Folios are missing. १९ O—नासिक्षे० २० O—कांचि०

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"मया किं कर्तव्यम् । भवद्भिरेव परिवेषणं न कार्यते । प्रायः पाको न जातः । पाको जातश्चेत्परिवेषणं कार्यताम् ।"

"अतः परं कार्यते मया ।"

"शीघ्रं कार्यताम् ।"

[इत्युक्ते सः स्वामिनं] स्थूलरम्भाग्रपत्रं दत्वा दशपत्रपुटानि [च] दत्वा सर्वसामग्रीसहितव्यञ्जनानि दापयित्वा[१] शाल्योदनं दापयित्वा यथासुखं भोजितवान् । भोजनानन्तरम्—

"अरे स्वामिनां हस्तप्रक्षालनार्थमुदकं देयम्[२] । मृत्तिका दातव्या । दन्तशोधनार्थं शलाका दातव्या ।"

हस्तप्रक्षालनानन्तरं स्थूलपीठे उपवेश्य शुद्धाऽचमनार्थमुदकं दत्वा शुद्धाचमनानन्तरं श्रीचन्दनं कस्तूरीकर्पूरसहितं सर्वशरीरे लापयित्वा मुष्टिपरिमितलवङ्गान्दत्वा नानाविधपुष्पमालाः कण्ठे दत्वा समीचीनममूल्यवस्त्रद्वयं दत्वा साष्टाङ्गदण्डवत्प्रणामं कृत्वा—

"भो स्वामिनः अतिकालो जातः । शाकपाकादिकं किमपि न जातम् ।"

इति प्रार्थितवान् । बहुधा [३]प्रार्थनाऽनन्तरं श्रीपादाः वदन्ति—

"[४]नारायण अतीव सम्भ्रमो जातः ।"

"भवद्भिः कम्बलोपरि उपविश्यताम् स्वामिनः ।"

"उपविश्यते ।"

कम्बलोपर्युपवेशनानन्तरं गृहमध्ये यावन्तः स्थिताः ते सर्वे नमस्कारार्थमागताः । स्वामिनः ऊचुः—

"एते के के वर्त्तन्ते ।"

"अयमस्माकं पिता भवति । इयमस्माकं माता भवति । अयमस्माकं पितामहो भवति । इयमस्माकं पितामही भवति । अयमस्माकं प्रपितामहो भवति । इयमस्माकं प्रपितामही भवति[५] । अयं मम ज्येष्ठभ्राता भवति । इयं मम ज्येष्ठा भगिनी भवति । अयं मम कनिष्ठभ्राता भवति । इयं मम कनिष्ठा भगिनी भवति । एते मम ज्येष्ठपितृव्या भवन्ति । एते मम कनिष्ठपितृव्या भवन्ति । इयं पितृभगिनी भवति । इयं मातृभगिनी भवति[६] । अयं मातुलो भवति । इयं मातुलानी भवति । इयं

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१ O—स्थूलरंभाग्रपात्रं दत्वा । पत्रपुटानिदत्वा सर्वसामग्री गृहीत्वा व्यंजनानि दापयित्वा ।
B—स्थूलरंभाग्रपत्रं दशपत्रपुटानिदा सर्वसामग्रीसहितव्यञ्जनानि etc.

२ C & B—दातव्यं

३ O—बहुप्रार्थना०

४ C—नारायण नारायण नारायण अतीतसम्भ्रमो०

५ C—adds अयमस्माकं प [प्र] पितामहो भवति । इयमस्माकं प्रपितामही भवति ।

६ B, O and C add here इयं पितृस्वसा भवति । इयं मम मातृस्वसा भवति । But this would be redundant in view of पितृभगिनी and मातृभगिनी noted above. The use of the word स्वसृ can be shown by emending the text as इयं पितृस्वसा भवति । इयं मातृभगिनी भवति । However since all mss. give the above text, we have to take इयं पितृस्वसा....इयं मम मातृस्वसा...... । as a probable later addition.

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मम भार्या भवति । अयं मम पुत्रो भवति । इयं मम कन्या भवति । अयं मम[१] जामाता भवति । अयं मम पौत्रो भवति । अयं मम दौहित्रो भवति । अयं मम शा(श्या)लको[२] भवति । अयं मम प्रपौत्रो भवति । [३]अयं श्वशुरो भवति । इयं श्वश्रूर्भवति । अयं भावुको भवति । एते आचार्याः भवन्ति । एताः आचार्यान्यः भवन्ति । एतानि मित्राणि भवन्ति । अयं मम सखास्ति[४] । अयं मम सेवकोऽस्ति । इयं मम दासी वर्तते । अन्ये मम सम्बन्धिनः सन्ति ।"

"अति समीचीनं जातम् । इदं सर्वं दृष्ट्वा अतिसंतोषो जातः मम ।"

"हे स्वामिनः भवद्भिः किं किं पठितम्[५] ।"

"सर्वं मया पठितं[५] वर्त्तते ।"

"कस्मिन्शास्त्रे अतिकाठिन्यमस्ति ।"

"भवद्भिर्न ज्ञायते वा ।"

"मया ज्ञायते यद्यपि तथाऽपि[६] भवन्तो वदन्तु ।"

स्वामिनः ऊचुः—

"व्याकरणे अतीव काठिन्यं वर्त्तते ।"

"इदं किं कस्मिन् शास्त्रे इति पृष्टे[७] व्याकरणे इति उच्यते ।"

"मया समीचीनमुच्यते । तत्कथमिति चेत्[८] श्रुणु शास्त्रशब्देन वेदः उच्यते । वेदस्यैव शास्त्रशब्दव्यवहारो मुख्यः । व्याकरणे गौणः दर्शनेषु तु अतीव गौणः । तत्कथमिति चेत्[९] श्रुणु । व्याकरणं मुख्यमङ्गं भवति वेदस्य । दर्शनानि तु गौणान्यङ्गानि भवन्ति वेदस्येत्युक्तमेव ।"

"स्वामिनः व्याकरणं विहाय अन्यानि दर्शनानि कथं पठन्ति लोकाः ।"

"भ्रान्ता एवैते । कथमिति चेत्, श्रुणु ।

"पदच्छेदः पदार्थोक्तिः विग्रहो वाक्ययोजना । इत्येतत्सर्वं व्याकरणं विना केनाऽपि अवैयाकरणेन न ज्ञायते । तस्माद्व्याकरणं अतीव कठिनं भवति । किं च तर्कवैशेषिकादीनि कानिचिद्दर्शनानि[१०] निषिद्धानि वर्त्तन्ते । तथा हि—आदिपर्वणि भीष्मोत्पत्तिकथाऽनन्तरं पाण्डुः कुन्त्यै आह—

स वै दीर्घतमा [११]नामोतथ्यजोगुरुशापतः ।
स पुत्राञ्जनयामास गो(गौ)तमादीन्महायशाः ।
लोभमोहाभिभूतास्तु पुत्रास्ते गो(गौ)तमादयः । इति ।

अतएव हयशीर्षपञ्चरात्रे—

कपिलश्चाक्षपादश्च नास्तिको नग्न एव च ।
ऋषयस्तामसा एते[१२] शास्त्रमेषां विमोहनम् ॥ इति ॥

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१ B omits मम २ C—शालो० ३ B adds अयं मम प्रप्रपौत्रो भवति । C—अयं मम प्र [प्र] पौत्रो भवति । ४ O—एते संख्यास्ति । B—अयं मम सख्यास्ति । ५ B & C—पाठितं ६ O—omits तथाऽपि ७ B & O—पृछे ८ O—वक्तव्यमिति चेत् ९ O—वक्तव्यमिति चेत् १० B—०कानि दर्शनानि ११ O—उक्तथ्यजो B—०तत्थायो C—नामोतथ्यजो । १२ O—तामसगते

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मोक्षधर्मे—

आन्वीक्षिकीं तर्कविद्यामनुरक्तो निरर्थकां ।[१]
हेतुवादान्ब्रुवन्सत्सु विजेता ब्राह्मणादिषु[२] ॥
यस्येयं फलनिष्पत्तिः शृगालत्वं मम द्विज ।[३]
न तर्कशास्त्रविदग्धाय न वाच्यं पिशुनाय वा[४] ॥ इति ॥

दानधर्मे—

आन्वीक्षिक्यां सदासक्तं नरश्वानं च तं विदुः ।

आदित्यपुराणे—

बौद्धा वैशेषिका जैना भविष्यन्ति कलौ युगे ।

पद्मपुराणे—

काणादं गौतमं शक्तिमुपमन्युं च जैमिनिम् ।[५]
(कणादः गौतमः शक्तिरुपमन्युश्च जैमिनिः ।)
ऋषयस्तामसा एते [६]तेषां शास्त्रं विमोहनम् ॥
मच्छक्त्याऽवेशितैरेतैरभेदो [७]मम गोपितः ॥

रामायणे अयोध्याकाण्डे—

शास्त्रेष्वन्येषु मुख्येषु विद्यमानेषु दुर्बुधाः ।
बुद्धिमान्वीक्षिकीं प्राप्य निरयं प्रपयन्ति[८] ते ।
भवेत्पण्डितमानी यो ब्राह्मणो वेदनिन्दकः ।
आन्वीक्षिकीं तर्कविद्यामनुरक्तो निरर्थिकाम् ।
हेतुवादान्ब्रुवन्सत्सु विजेता हेतुवादिकः[९] ।
आक्रोष्टा चाभिवक्ता च ब्राह्मणानां सदैव हि ।
सर्वाभिशङ्की[१०] मूढश्च बालः कटुकवागपि ॥
बोद्धव्यस्तादृशस्तात नरश्वानं हि तं विदुः ।
यथा श्वा भक्षितं चैव हन्तुं चैवावसृज्यते ।
एवं सम्भाषणार्थाय सर्वशास्त्रवधाय च[११] ॥

मिताक्षरायाम्—

हैतुकान्बकवृत्तींश्च वाङ्मात्रेणाऽपि नार्चयेत् ।

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१ O—निरर्थिको. B & C—निरर्थिकां २ C—ब्रह्मणादिषु ३ O—द्विजः । B—द्विजा । ४ B—च ५ C—जैमिनि । ६ C—शास्त्रमेषां ७ O & B—०रेतै भेदो० ८ B—निरय प्रपयंति० O—निरयं प्रपयत्तेत्ति । C—निरयं प्रपयंति ते । ९ C—विजेतां हेत्वादिकः । O—विजेता हेतुवादिकः । B—विजेत्ता हेतुवादिकः । १० C—सर्वाभिःशंकी० B—सर्वभिः शंकी O—सर्वश्चिभिः शकि ११ C—एवं संभारणार्थ य० O—एवं शंभाषणार्थी य B—एव संभाषणार्थाय (Passage not traceable in printed edition of Rāmāyana, Southern Recension.)

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तर्काप्रतिष्ठानादिति **व्याससूत्रम्** । (ब्र. सू. २-१-११)
नैषा तर्केण मतिरापनेया इति श्रुतिः । (का. १-२-९)

पाद्मे पार्वतीं प्रति ईश्वर आह—

मच्छक्त्यावेशितैर्विप्रैस्सम्प्रोक्तानि ततः परम् ।
काणादेन तु सम्प्रोक्तं शास्त्रं वैशेषिकं महत् ॥
गोतमेन[१] तथा न्यायं साङ्ख्यं तु कपिलेन वै ।
द्विजन्मना जैमिनिना पूर्वेदमयथार्थतः[२] ॥
निरीश्वरेण वादेन कृतं शास्त्रं महत्तरम् ॥ इति ।

पाराशरोपपुराणे[३]—

अक्षपादप्रणीते च काणादे साङ्ख्ययोगयोः ।
त्याज्यः श्रुतिविरुद्धांशो श्रुत्यैकशरणैर्नृभिः ॥
जैमिनीये च वैयासे विरुद्धांशो न कश्चन ॥ इति ।

ब्रह्मवैवर्त्ते काशीमाहात्म्ये—

तर्कशास्त्रं पठित्वाऽत्यन्तं परिभाव्य महातार्किको जातः । तदनन्तरमगम्यागमनादिकं कृत्वाऽपेयपानादिकं च कृत्वा मातुलानीभक्षणं च कृत्वा स्थितवान् बहुकालपर्यन्तं पापी चिरायुरिति न्यायात् । ततः मृतः नष्टदेशे गत्वा पश्चात्कदर्यदेशे कलिवृक्षोपरि महापिशाचो भूत्वा बहुकालपर्यन्तं स्थितः द्वि[ज]जेता[४] नाम कश्चन ब्राह्मणः—इत्यादि सर्वत्र श्रूयते ।

अत एव **बृहदारण्यकभाष्ये आचार्यचरणैरुक्तम्**—

पुच्छविषाणहीनास्तार्किकबलीवर्दाः प्रत्यवतिष्ठन्त इति । तस्माद्वैशेषिके तर्के च अत्यन्तं न पठनीयमित्येव प्रतीयते । ”

वाजपेयी आह—

“ सत्यम् । तर्के[५] पठित्वा वक्तारो भवन्ति तदर्थं तर्कं पठनीयम् । ”

“ भ्रान्तोऽसि । तर्कं पठित्वाऽपि मूकवद्[६] दृश्यन्ते सभायाम् । व्याकरणमायाति चेत्सर्वशास्त्रेषु सिंहसदृशा भवन्ति वैयाकरणाः । तत्कथमिति चेत्, शृणु—भाष्योच्छिष्टं जगत्त्रयमिति प्रसिद्धेः ।

“ व्यासोच्छिष्टं जगत्त्रयमित्यपि श्रूयते स्वामिनः । ”

“ सत्यम् । श्लोकांशे तत् ।

“ स्वामिनः कस्मिन्कस्मिन्शास्त्रे श्रीमद्भिः पठितम् । ”

“ मया सर्वत्र पठितम् ।

“ क्व सर्वत्र । ”

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१ O & C—गौतमेन० २ O—पूर्वेदमयथार्थतः । B—पूर्वं वेदमपार्थतः । C—पूर्वं वेदमपार्थतः । ३ C—पाराशरपुराणे O & B—पाराशरीय (प) पुराणे ४ O & C—द्विजसेना नाम० ५ C—तर्कं. O & B—तर्क० ६ B—मूकका.

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" [१]महाभाष्यमपाठिषमहम् । [२]कैय्यटमहं अपाठिषम् । [३]काशिकापुस्तकमहमपाठिषम् । [४]पदमञ्जरीमपाठिषमहम् । अनुन्यासरक्षितसहितं [५]न्यासमपाठिषमहम् । [६]धातुवृत्तिपुस्तकानि अपाठिषमहम् । [७]परिभाषापुस्तकान्यपाठिषमहम् । [८]उणादिवृत्तिपुस्तकान्यपाठिषमहम् । [९]फिट्सूत्रवृत्तिपुस्तकान्यपाठिषमहम् । [१०]लिङ्गानुशासनवृत्तिपुस्तकान्यपाठिषमहम् । उपसर्गवृत्तिमपाठिषमहम् । निपातवृत्तिपुस्तकान्यपाठिषमहम् । [११]मनोरमासहित[१२]सिद्धान्तकौमुदीमपाठिषम् । [१३]मध्यसिद्धान्तकौमुदीमपाठिषम् ।

[१४]लघुसिद्धान्तकौमुदीमपाठिषम् । [१५]शब्दकौस्तुभमपाठिषमहम् । अन्यान्यपि व्याकरणे बहूनि पुस्तकानि सन्ति । तानि सर्वाण्यपाठिषमहम् ।

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१ Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali, c. 150 B. C. well-known.

२ Kaiyyaṭa wrote a comm. on Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali.

३ Kāśikāvṛtti is the joint production of Jayāditya and Vāmana and, acc. to It-sing, Jayāditya died in c. 661 A. D. In a well-known verse—अनुत्सूत्रपदन्यासा सद्वृत्तिः सन्निबन्धना । शब्दविद्येव नो भाति राजनीतिरपस्पशा । Māgha refers to Kāśikāvṛtti and its comm. the Nyāsa.

४ Composed by Haradatta who quotes Māgha by name. Jinendrabuddhi in his Nyāsa freely copied from Padamañjarī.

५ Nyāsa of Jinendrabuddhi on the Kāśikāvṛtti is later than Haradatta's Padamañjarī and Māgha's Śiśupālavadha, as shown by Kielhorn, JRAS (1908), p. 499. A ms. of Śiṣyahitānyāsa, composed by Ugrabhūti on Kātantra-Śiṣyahitāvṛtti, is recently discovered and is being edited for the G. O. Series by Dr. V. S. Agrawala. The Nyāsakāra mentioned by Bhāmaha may not be Jinendrabuddhi.

६ *E.g.* Mādhavīyā Dhātuvṛtti by Sāyaṇa.

७ *E.g.* Paribhāṣenduśekhara of Nāgojī Bhaṭṭa.

८ C omits. Commentaries on Uṇādisūtras, *e.g.* works of Śvetavanavāsī, Sarvajñanārāyaṇa, Ujjvaladatta, Bhaṭṭojī Dīkṣita.

९ O omits.

१० There are several works of the name. One work Liṅgānuśāsana of Vāmana with Vṛtti is published in G. O. Series No. 6. Liṅgānuśāsana of Durgasimha is published by the Deccan College Post-Graduate Research Institute, Poona.

११ Manoramā is the famous comm. of Bhaṭṭojī Dīkṣita on Siddāntakaumudī.

१२ Siddhāntakaumudī composed by Bhaṭṭojī Dīkṣita.

१३ O omits. Madhyasiddhāntakaumudī is by Varadarāja (c. 17th cent., A. D.) the author of our text.

१४ Also by Varadarāja.

१५ By Bhaṭṭojī Dīkṣita.

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वेदान्ते, विवरणे[१] पाठ्यते। कल्पतरुसहितवाचस्पत्ये[२] पाठ्यते। शारीरकीयं भाष्यं[३] पाठ्यते। सुरेश्वरवार्त्तिकं[४] पाठ्यते।

मीमांसायां, [५]शास्त्रदीपिकामपाठिषम्। [६]तन्त्रवार्त्तिकं सराणकमपाठिषम्। [७]तन्त्ररत्न-मपाठिषम्। [८]शाबरभाष्यमपाठिषम्।

तर्के, [९]चिन्तामणिमपाठिषम्। [१०]शिरोमणिमपाठिषम्। [११]मिश्रमपाठिषम्।

वैशेषिके, [१२]प्रशस्तपादभाष्यमपाठिषम्। [१३]वर्द्धमानसहितकिरणावलीमपाठिषम्।

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१ Vivaraṇa is Pañcapādikāvivaraṇa of Prakāśātman (c. 1200 A. D.).

२ Vācaspatya is the Bhāmātī comm. by Vācaspati Miśra (c. 840 A.D.) on Brahmasūtra-Śāṅkara-bhāṣya, while *Kalpa-taru* is a comm. on Bhāmatī by Amalānanda in the middle of the thirteenth century.

३ Śārīrakīyam is the Bhāṣya of Śaṅkara on Bādarāyaṇa's Brahmasūtras.

४ Sureśvaravārtika is a comm. on Śaṅkara's Bhāṣya on the Bṛhad-āraṇyaka upaniṣad, by the latter's direct disciple Sureśvarācārya.

५ Śāstradīpikā composed by Pārthasārathimiśra (c. 900 A. D.).

६ Tantravārtika of Kumārīlabhaṭṭa (c. 700 A. D.). Rāṇaka is the Nyāya-sudhā comm. by Someśvara (c. 1500 A. D.) on Tantravārtika.

७ Tantraratna composed by Pārthasārathimiśra.

८ Śābarabhāṣya on Jaimini's Pūrvamīmāmsā-Sūtras, composed by Śa-barasvāmin.

९ Cintāmaṇi is the Tattva-Cintāmaṇi of Gaṅgeśopādhyāya (c. 1175 A. D.).

१० Śiromaṇi is a comm. on Tattva-Cintāmaṇi (of Gaṅgeśopādhyāya), by Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa (c. 1300 A. D.). It is also called Dīdhiti.

११ May be Tarkabhāṣā of Keśavamiśra or works of Vācaspatimiśra—such as Nyāyavārtika-tātparyaṭīkā, Nyāyasūcinibandha etc. ; or Jayadevamiśra's (c. 1278 A. D.) Tattva-Cintāmaṇi-ṭīkā (Tattvāloka) and Haridāsamiśra's Tattvā-lokaṭīkā, or Śaṅkaramiśra's (c. 1625 A. D.) Jāgadīśī-ṭīkā.

१२ Praśastapāda-bhāṣya on Kaṇāda's sūtras.

१३ Kiraṇāvali is a ṭīkā, on Praśasta-pāda-bhāṣya, by Udayanācārya (c. 984 A. D.). Varddhamāna (c. 1150 A. D.) wrote his Kiraṇāvali-prakāśa, a comm. on the Kiraṇāvali of Udayanācārya.

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[1]साङ्ख्येऽपि, [2]साङ्ख्यभाष्यं सटिप्पणमपाठिषम्। योगेऽपि [3]व्यासभाष्यसहित [4]पातञ्जलसूत्राण्यपाठिषम्। [5]योगवाचस्पतिमपाठिषम्।

[6]नैषधकाव्यमपाठिषम्। [7]रघुवंशकाव्यमपाठिषम्। कुमारसम्भवमपाठिषम्। मेघदूतमपाठिषम्। [8]माघमपाठिषम्। [9]किरातमपाठिषम्। अन्यत्पुस्तकमात्रमपाठिषम्।"

"स्वामिनः अतिसमीचीनं क्रियते श्रीमद्भिः। कालक्षेपः समीचीनं जायते भवताम्। स्वामिनः भवतां देशे पलाण्डुभक्षणं कुर्वन्तीति श्रुतं वर्त्तते मया। लशुनभक्षणं कुर्वन्तीति श्रुतं वर्त्तते मया। तत्सत्यं वा [न]।

"एवं मूढा वदन्ति। ये अशिष्टाः पतिताः [10]अब्राह्मणाश्च [ते] भक्षयन्ति समीचीना न भक्षयन्त्येव।"

"स्वामिनः अपराधाः क्षन्तव्याः। मया अज्ञात्वा पृष्टम्।"

"हे वाजपेयिनः भवतां देशः कः।"

"मम [11]कान्यकुब्जदेशः।"

"तत्र किं किमस्ति।"

"स [12]मध्यदेशो भवति। तत्र सर्वमस्ति। तथा हि—

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1 C—omits अपि O—०सटिप्पणपाठि.

Kapila is said to be the propagator of the Sāmkhya system. Sāmkhya-sūtras, Kapila-Samhitā, Kapila-Pañcarātra etc. are ascribed to him. Ṣaṣṭitantra of Vārṣagaṇya (c. 100 A. D.) and Sāmkhya-kārikā of Īśvarakṛṣṇa (c. 2nd cent. A. D.) are amongst chief early texts of the system.

2 Sāmkhya-bhāṣya is the bhāṣya by Gauḍapādācārya (c. 600-700 A. D.) on the Sāmkhyakārikās of Īśvarakṛṣṇa.

3-4 Vyāsa-bhāṣya is the Yogasūtrabhāṣya by Vyāsa (c. 100 A. D.?) on the Yoga-Sūtras cf Patañjali.

4 C omits योगेऽपि....योगवाचस्पतिमपाठिषम्।

5 Yoga-vācaspati is the Tattva-vaiśāradī, the Yoga-Sūtra-bhāṣya-ṭikā by Vācaspatimiśra (c. 9th cent. A. D.).

6-9 The well-known Mahākāvyas of Śrīharṣa (Naiṣadha) Kālidāsa, (Raghu०, Kumāra and Meghadūta), Māgha (Śiśupālavadha) and Bhāravī (Kirātārjunīyam).

10 O—ब्राह्मणाश्च.

11 Kanauj.

12 For the definition of Madhyadeśa, vide, Manu, II. 21, which defines Madhyadeśa as the country between the Himalaya and Vindhya mountains, which is to the east of Vinaśana (*i.e.* the dry bed of Sarasvatī where it disappears) and west of Prayāga. For Madhyadeśa, also see, Law, B. C., Historical Geography of Ancient India.

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यवास्सन्ति । व्रीहयस्सन्ति । चणकास्सन्ति । माषास्सन्ति । राजमाषास्सन्ति । मुद्गास्सन्ति । सर्षपास्सन्ति । अतस्यस्सन्ति । तिलास्सन्ति । मसूरास्सन्ति । यवनालास्सन्ति । प्रियङ्गवस्सन्ति । श्यामकाः वर्त्तन्ते । कोद्रवाः वर्त्तन्ते । [१]अन्यान्यपि धान्यानि वर्त्तन्ते ।

शर्कराऽस्ति । गुडोऽस्ति[२] । खण्डशर्कराऽस्ति । द्राक्षाफलानि सन्ति । खर्जूरफलानि सन्ति । कदलीफलानि सन्ति[३] । कपित्थफलानि सन्ति । बदरीफलानि सन्ति । आम्रफलानि सन्ति । सहकार-फलानि[४] सन्ति । [५]कण्टकिफलानि सन्ति । निम्बूफलानि सन्ति । जम्बीरफलानि सन्ति । [६]चुक्रमस्ति । तिन्तिणीफलमस्ति । [७]चिञ्चाफलमस्ति । नारङ्गीफलानि सन्ति । दाडिमफलानि सन्ति । [८]कर्कटीफलानि सन्ति । जम्बूफलानि सन्ति । भल्लातकफलानि सन्ति । अन्यान्यपि बहूनि फलानि सन्ति ।

सैन्धवलवणमस्ति । सामुद्रिकलवणमस्ति । साम्भरलवणमस्ति ।

दुग्धमस्ति । दधि वर्त्तते । तक्रमस्ति । [९]उदश्विन्वर्त्तते । मथितं वर्त्तते । आमिक्षा वर्त्तते । नवनीतं वर्त्तते । फाण्टं वर्त्तते[१०] । घृतमस्ति । सर्षपतैलमस्ति । अतसीतैलमस्ति । [११]कुसुम्भतैलमस्ति । तिलतैलमस्ति[१२] । [१३]एरण्डतैलमस्ति । निम्बतैलमस्ति[१४] । मधु वर्त्तते ।

शुण्ठी-पिप्पली-मरीचानि सन्ति । कटुकरोहिणी वर्त्तते । पिप्पलीमूलमस्ति । जीरकमस्ति । रामठं वर्त्तते । आमलकी वर्त्तते । विभीतकोऽस्ति । ”

“ वाजपेयिनः, जन्तवः के के वर्त्तन्ते भवतां देशे । ”

“ मनुष्यास्सन्ति । शरभ-शार्दूल-गण्डभेरण्डाः वर्त्तन्ते । सिंहाः सन्ति[१५] । गजास्सन्ति[१६] । करेणवः सन्ति । व्याघ्राः सन्ति । व्याघ्र्यः सन्ति[१७] । भल्लूकाः सन्ति[१८] । भल्लूक्यः सन्ति[१९] । वृकाः सन्ति । वृक्यः सन्ति । वराहाः सन्ति । वराह्यः सन्ति । शृगालाः सन्ति । क्रोष्ट्र्यः सन्ति । श्वा वर्त्तते । शुनी वर्त्तते[२०] । अश्वाः वर्त्तन्ते । वडवाः वर्त्तन्ते । गर्दभा वर्त्तन्ते । गर्दभ्यः सन्ति । महिषाः वर्तन्ते । महिष्यः सन्ति । बलीवर्दाः सन्ति । गावः सन्ति । छागाः सन्ति । छाग्यः सन्ति । अवयस्सन्ति । पशवस्सन्ति । मूषकास्सन्ति । सर्पास्सन्ति । नकुलाः सन्ति । मार्जाराः सन्ति[२१] । सरटाः सन्ति । पल्यः सन्ति । मक्षिकास्सन्ति । मशकाः सन्ति । मत्कुणाः सन्ति ।

“ वाजपेयिनः भवतां देशे कानि कानि तीर्थानि सन्ति । ”

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१ O omits. C...... ०बहूनि वर्त्तन्ते । २ C omits. ३ C omits खर्जूर......कदली......सन्ति । ४ Cf. अमरकोश, 715—आम्रश्चूतो रसालोऽसौ सहकारोऽतिसौरभः । Sahakāra is a very fragrant variety of mango-fruit (āmra). ५ C—कंटक. O—कंटकी० ६ O—चुक्रमस्ति । B & C—शुक्र० ७ O—चिंवा० C—चिंचा० ८ O—कर्कडी० B—कर्कटि० ९ O—उद्धतं० B—उदश्वितर्द्वर्त्तते । C—उदस्वि० cf : अमरकोश, 1813—तक्रं ह्युदश्विन्मथितं पादाम्ब्वर्धाम्बुनिर्मलम् । १० cf : अमर० १३९८—आमिक्षा सा शृतोष्णे या क्षीरे स्याद्दधियोगतः । फाण्टम् is a विकार of milk without दधियोग. cf. अमर०, २२१३, अनायासकृतं फाण्टम् etc. ११-१४ C omits. १५ B—सिंह्यः सन्ति O—सिंहाः व सिंह्यः सं० C—सिंह्यः सन्ति । १६ O omits. १७ B—व्याधाः सन्ति O omits. १८ B—बभ्रका० १९ O omits. २० B omits. २१ C—मार्ज्जार्यः सन्ति ।

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"कुरुक्षेत्रमस्ति । सन्निहत्यातीर्थमस्ति । पृथूदकतीर्थमस्ति । इन्द्रप्रस्थपुरे निगमगोचरतीर्थमस्ति । मथुराक्षेत्रमस्ति । गोकुलमस्ति । गोवर्द्धनमस्ति । वृन्दावनमस्ति । पुष्करतीर्थमस्ति । नर्मदातीर्थमस्ति । अमरकण्टकक्षेत्रमस्ति । तत्र ॐकारेश्वरो वर्त्तते । चर्मण्वती वर्त्तते । तापीनदी वर्त्तते । अवन्तिकाक्षेत्रं वर्त्तते । महाकालेश्वरो वर्त्तते । नर्मदासङ्गमोऽस्ति । गुप्तप्रयागो वर्त्तते । सरस्वतीतीरे प्रभासक्षेत्रं वर्त्तते । गोमत्यस्ति । पञ्चद्वारकाः वर्त्तन्ते । [1]सिन्धुसङ्गमो वर्त्तते । हिङ्गुलादेवीक्षेत्रं वर्त्तते । सिन्धुनदो वर्त्तते । चन्द्रभागा वर्त्तते । काश्मीरसोमेश्वरो वर्त्तते । सन्ध्यावर्द्धनी वर्त्तते । व्यासगङ्गा वर्त्तते । वसिष्ठाश्रमो वर्त्तते । [2]मणिमहेशपर्वतोऽस्ति । त्रिलोकनाथक्षेत्रमस्ति । सरोवरतीर्थमस्ति । तप्तमणिकर्णिकाऽस्ति[3] । नगरकोटक्षेत्रमस्ति । ज्वालामुखीक्षेत्रमस्ति । इरावती नदी वर्त्तते । शरावती नदी वर्त्तते । [4]पुण्यभद्रायमुनासङ्गमोऽस्ति । यमुनानदी वर्त्तते । [5]गङ्गोत्तरा वर्त्तते । मन्दाकिनीतीरे केदारक्षेत्रमस्ति । अलकनन्दातीरे बदरिकाश्रमोऽस्ति मन्दाकिनी-अलकनन्दासङ्गमे [6]रुद्रप्रयागोऽस्ति । धवलगङ्गा-अलकनन्दासङ्गमे स्कन्दप्रयागोऽस्ति । भागीरथी-अलकनन्दा-सङ्गमे [7]देवप्रयागोऽस्ति । हरिद्वारक्षेत्रमस्ति । [8]कनकलाक्षेत्रमस्ति । [9]अलकनन्दाक्षेत्रमस्ति । [10]कुशावर्त्तक्षेत्रमस्ति । वटमुक्तेश्वरक्षेत्रमस्ति । हस्तिनापुरक्षेत्रमस्ति [11]सम्भलाग्रामोऽस्ति । सूकरक्षेत्रमस्ति । [12]नैमिषारण्यमस्ति । उत्तरगोकर्णमस्ति । सरयूनद्यस्ति । अयोध्याक्षेत्रमस्ति । नन्दिग्रामक्षेत्रमस्ति । गङ्गायमुनासङ्गमे वटप्रयागोऽस्ति । काशीक्षेत्रमस्ति । तत्र[13] विश्वेश्वरोऽस्ति । गयातीर्थमस्ति । तत्र गदाधरोऽस्ति ।[14] फल्गुनद्यस्ति । जगन्नाथक्षेत्रमस्ति । पुनः पुना नदी वर्त्तते । [15]श्रोणाभद्रानदो वर्त्तते । च्यवनाश्रमो वर्त्तते । राजगृहवनं वर्त्तते । वैद्यनाथक्षेत्रं[16] वर्त्तते । गङ्गासागरसंङ्गमतीर्थं[17] तिष्ठति । गण्डकी नदी वर्त्तते । चक्रतीर्थमस्ति । [18]मुक्तिक्षेत्रमस्ति । नेपाले नीलकण्ठतीर्थमस्ति । कामरूपे कामाख्यादेवी[19] वर्त्तते । अन्यान्यपि बहूनि तीर्थानि सन्ति ।"

"वाजपेयिनः भवतां देशे रजस्वलापक्कौदनः भुज्यते किल सत्यं वा [न] ।"

"स्वामिनः, न भुज्यते समीचीनैः ।"

"तर्हि असमीचीनैर्भुज्यते वा [न] ।"

"धर्कटैः अप्रमानिकैः[20] हलवाहकैश्च रजस्वलापक्कौदनः भुज्यते ।"

"तैः सह सम्बन्धो वर्त्तते वा न । सत्यं वदतु यदि मिथ्या वदथ भवतां परलोको नश्यति ।"

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१ O omits सिन्धुसङ्गमो......सिन्धुनदो वर्त्तते । २ O मनिमहेश० B and C—मनमहेश. I have emended this to मणिमहेश० ३ O omits. ४ B and C—पुष्प (?) भद्रा० ५ O—गंगोतरी० ६ O—इंद्रप्रयागो० ७ B—देवयागो० ८ O omits. १० B omits कुशावर्त्त.....हस्तिनापुरक्षेत्रमस्ति । ११ O—संभलग्रामो० C—सभला० B—संभला० १२ C—निमिषा० १३ O omits तत्र. १४ B omits. O—गयातीर्थमत्रगदाधरोऽस्ति । १५ O—शोणभद्रा० B and C—श्रोणभद्रा० १६ O—वैजनाथ० १७ O—गंगासागरतीर्थं० १८ O omits मुक्ति......नीलकंठतीर्थमस्ति । १९ O—कामाक्षादेवी० २० B—अप्रमाणिकैः C—अप्रामाणिकैः. Since this does not refer to any caste or tribe, it is possible that the author meant मानिकs or माणिकs. The Manis or Māṇis are an ancient tribe, the Māṇiharas of Uttara Pradesh may be descendants of these Māṇis. See Shah, U. P., *Geographical and Ethnic Data In the Kāśyapa Saṁhitā*, Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. VII, No. 4.

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" स्वामिनः, कस्मिन्देशे एवं चेत्, दुराचाराः न सन्ति । सर्वत्र दुराचाराः सन्त्येव । तथा हि —

दक्षिणदेशे कलौ मातुलकन्यावरणं[१] दुराचारः । दाक्षिणात्येषु वर्षचतुष्टयात्प्राक् कन्यायाः विवाहो दुराचारः । आन्ध्रदेशे हलवाहनं दुराचारः । [२]कर्णाटकदेशे स्नानं विना भोजनं दुराचारः । महाराष्ट्रदेशे उच्छिष्टभक्षणं[३] ज्येष्ठं परित्यज्य कनिष्ठस्य विवाहकरणं क्वचित्सौकर्यवशाच्च दुराचारः । द्रविडकेरलदेशयोः सर्वेषां कुचप्रदर्शनं दुराचारः । [४]केरलदेशे उपरिसुरतं दुराचारः । कोङ्कणे वृक्षारोहणं दुराचारः । गुर्जरदेशे[५] चर्मोदकपानं तृतीयदिने रजस्वलास्नानं दुराचारः । उत्तरदेशे कलौ मांसभक्षणं[६] दुराचारः । [७]पर्वतदेशे क्वचित्कलौ देवरेण सुतोत्पत्तिः दुराचारः । उत्तरदेशे क्वचित्तु शुष्कमांसभक्षणं अत्यन्तदुराचारः । [८]मैथिल-गौडदेशे सदातैललेपनं दुराचारः । गौडदेशे वेदत्यागो दुराचारः । कान्यकुब्जदेशे [९]पण्यस्थघृतपक्वभक्षणं विवाहादौ भोजनसमये परस्पर्शनं[१०] च दुराचारः । उत्कले मुखसुरतं दुराचारः । गौड-[११]द्राविड-केरल-उत्कल-मैथिलेषु पक्वकलन्तण्डुलौदनभोजनं दुराचारः । सर्वेषां देशे[१२] पथितताम्बूलभक्षणं दुराचारः । "

" अतिसमीचीनं जातम् । अतः परं मया मठे गन्तव्यम्[१३] । अनुष्ठानकालो जातः । "

" गम्यतां श्रीमद्भिः ।[१४] भिक्षाऽर्थं कदा आगन्तव्यं भवद्भिः । "

" मया न आगन्तव्यम् । किमिति चेत्, भवतां गृहे बहुसम्मर्दो जायते । अतीव कालो गच्छति । वृथा मम[१५] । "

" [१६]अद्य कथमागतं श्रीमद्भिः । "

" अनाध्याय इति कृत्वाऽऽगतोऽस्मि । "

" न-कारस्य दीर्घः कथं स्वामिनः । "

" अरे वाजपेयिन् तव कर्णौ न स्तः । बधिरोऽसि । "

" अपराधो जातः स्वामिनः क्षन्तव्यः[१७] । भवद्भिः यत्र गन्तव्यं तत्र सम्मर्दो भविष्यत्येव । "

" मया कुत्राऽपि न गम्यते । "

" तर्हि भिक्षा क्व कर्तव्या । "

" मया माधूकरं क्रियते । "

" उ-कारस्य दीर्घः केन । "

" न ज्ञायते वा । "

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१ O—परिन(ण)यनं० २ O—कार्णाट० B—कर्णाटके० ३ O—भोजनं दु० ४ In C केरल etc. and कोङ्कणे० after the reference to कान्यकुब्जदेश. ५ B—गुर्ज्जरदेशे. ६ C omits. ७ C omits. O—क्वचित्काले ८ C omits मैथिल........वेदत्यागो दुराचारः । ९ B—पण्यघृत० १० B—भोजनसमये परस्पर्शनं O—भा(भो)जनसमये परस्परदर्शनं C—भोजनसमीपे परस्पर्शनं च. ११ C—द्रविड० १२ O—देशानां. १३ गम्यते । १४ B and C—भवद्भिः. १५ C—omits मम. १६ O omits from here upto शाल्यन्नं परिविष्य, loc. cit. १७ B and O—क्षन्तव्यम्.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

"न ज्ञायते स्वामिनः। अन्येषामपि दृश्यते इति एवं चेत् भिक्षाऽधुना माधूकरीत्यादि प्रयोग-विरोधः स्यात्।

"भवतु नाम प्रयोगविरोधः। ऋषिप्रयोगो वा कविप्रयोगो वा विरुध्यते तदा दोषः।"

"स्वामिभिः काव्यानि न पठितानि।"

"काव्यालापांश्च वर्जयेदिति वचनान्न पठ्यन्ते।"

"हे संन्यासिनः अस्य श्लोकस्य कोऽर्थः।"

"कस्य श्लोकस्याऽर्थः पृच्छयते त्वया।

"रामं सीतां लक्ष्मणं जीविकार्थे विक्रीणीते यो नरस्तं च धिग्धिक्।

अस्मिन्पद्ये योऽपशब्दं (ब्दान्) न वेत्ति व्यर्थप्रज्ञं पठितं (पण्डितं) तं च धिग्धिक्।"

"न ज्ञायते वा अयं श्लोकः प्रौढमनोरमायां वर्त्तते[१]।"

"तर्हि, एतस्य वक्तव्यः —

सुधे सुधे [२]वारिवधात्सुराणां सुकारणे लाघवतश्च रामः[३]।

विशेषणे द्वे च इहाद्य कर्तुः [४]वदेदधीतीसह कैय्यटीये॥

"अयं श्लोकः शब्दकौस्तुभे वर्तते, न ज्ञायते वा।"

"तर्हि, एतेषां मध्ये अपशब्दः निष्कासनीयः।"

"केषाम्।"

[५]राधाकृष्णं रुक्मिणीं जीविकार्थे सङ्गृह्णीते यो नरस्तं च धिग्धिक्।

अस्मिन्पद्ये योऽपशब्दं न वेत्ति [६]व्यर्थप्रज्ञं पठितं (पण्डितं) तं च धिग्धिक्॥ १॥

गीतं नृत्यं मालिकां जीविकार्थे धत्ते पुण्ड्रं यो नरस्तं च धिग्धिक्।

अस्मिन्पद्ये योऽपशब्दं न वेत्ति व्यर्थप्रज्ञं पठितं (पण्डितं) तं च धिग्धिक्॥ २॥

गङ्गां काशीं भैरवं विश्वनाथं नो जानीते यो नरस्तं च धिग्धिक्।

अस्मिन्पद्ये योऽपशब्दं..॥ ३॥

वेदं शास्त्रं भारतं जीविकार्थे ज्ञात्वाऽधीते यो नरस्तं च धिग्धिक्।

अस्मिन्पद्ये..॥ ४॥

"अरे वाजपेयिनः, ममाऽपि एतादृशाः कूटश्लोकाः सहस्रशः आयान्ति। तेषामर्थः कर्तुं शक्यते वा [न] भवता।"

"वक्तव्याः स्वामिनः।"

"किं प्रयोजनमस्माकं कलहेन। गन्तव्यम्। (तिष्ठति।) दूरे स्थीयते मया।"

"कुत्र स्थीयते भवद्भिः।"

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१ Manoramā on Pāṇini V. 3. 99 जीविकार्थे चापण्ये। २ B—वधात्सु० ३ O—०मुकारणे लाघवतः खरामः। ४ C—वदं दधीति. ५ O and B—राधाकृष्णं रुक्मिणीजीविकार्थे। C—धाराकृष्णं रुक्मिणीं० ६ B—व्यर्थप्रजां पठितं त(तं) च धिग्धिक्। १। O—वृथा प्राज्ञ पंडितं....

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

" तिलाभाण्डेश्वरे स्थीयते मया ।"

" ल-काराकारस्य दीर्घः केन ।"

" अवैय्याकरणसङ्गतिवशाद्दीर्घः आगतः मुखात् । अपराधो जातः तर्हि ।"

" गम्यतां श्रीमद्भिः ।"

मठे आगत्य गुरूणां वन्दनं कृत्वा स्वामिनः 'अनुष्ठानं कृत्वा आगम्यते' इत्युक्त्वा गङ्गायां गत्वा यथाविध्यनुष्ठानं कृत्वा मठे आगत्य गुरूणां निकटे गरुडासनेनोपविष्टवान् शिष्यः ।

गुरवः ऊचुः—" हे वामनाश्रम, अद्य किं किं भुक्तम् ।"

शिष्य उवाच—" अद्य मया यथा भुक्तं तथा कदाऽपि न भुक्तं स्वामिनः । तथा हि —

पङ्क्तौ सहस्रब्राह्मणाः[१] उपविष्टाः । सहस्राणामप्येकरूपेण पक्षपातं विना परिवेषणं कृतम् । विशालयुक्तदीर्घतराणि रम्भापत्राणि प्रत्येकं दत्त्वा पत्रपुटानि च दत्त्वा लवणशाकानि पर्यवेविषुः[२] ।

" कानि कानि लवणशाकानि पर्यवेविषुः सुवासिन्यः ।"

" आम्रशलाटुः । तिन्तिणीशलाटुः । कतकशलाटुः[३] । निम्बूशलाटुः । जम्बीरशलाटुः । नारङ्गीशलाटुः । बिल्वशलाटुः । आमलकीशलाटुः । कर्कटीशलाटुः । [४]औदुम्बरशलाटुः । शिवाशलाटुः । करीरलवणशाक (कं) आर्द्रकादीन्येतानि पर्यवेविषुः ।

एतत्परिवेषणानन्तरं शलाटुशाकान्पर्यवेविषुः ।

" के के शलाटुशाकाः पर्यवेविषुः ।"

" [५]वृन्ताकशलाटुः । कलिङ्गशलाटुः । कारवेल्लशलाटुः । कूष्माण्डशलाटुः । अलाबूशलाटुः । कदलीशलाटुः । शिम्बीशलाटुः । धृतकोशातकीशलाटुः[६] । [७]पनसशलाटुः । शिग्रुशलाटुः । पटोलीशलाटुः । बिम्बिकाशलाटुः । उर्वारुकशलाटुः । [८]तिन्दिसशलाटुः । राजमाषशलाटुः । [९]कर्करी- शलाटुः । राजदन्तफलशलाटुः । गोरक्षकर्कटीशलाटुः । [१०]सुखावासशलाटुः । [११]कुलकशलाटुः । कर्कोटकीशलाटुः । [१२]राजाबुशलाटुः । बार्हतशलाटुः । ~~बार्हतशलाटुः~~ + [१३]कठिल्लकशलाटुः । कर्कारुशलाटुः । चित्राशलाटुः । श्रेयसीशलाटुः । एतानि शलाटुशाकानि परिविष्य अन्यान्कन्दकान्पर्यवेविषुः ।"

" के के कन्दशाकाः ।"

" सूरणकन्दः । [१४]आलुककन्दः । मूलककन्दः । रक्तमूलककन्दः । रक्तालुककन्दः । पिण्डककन्दः । अर्वांमूलकन्दः[१५] । पोथिकाकन्दः ।

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१ N—सहस्रं ब्राह्मणाः, २ N—पर्यवेवेषिपुः O—पर्यवेविपु. ३ N—कतकशलाटुः । ४ N. adds मर्कटीशलाटुः । ५ N and B—वार्त्ताक० ६ C adds कोशातकीशलाटुः । ७ B omits पनस०......बिम्बिकाशलाटुः । ८ B—तिंदिल्य० N—तिन्दिशलाटुः । ९ N and C—कर्कटी० O—गोरक्षकर्कटी० १० B—सुखावस. ११ N and B—कूलक० C—कूलेक० १२ B—कर्कोटकीशलाबुशलाटुः । Apparently B omits, through scribal error, after कर्कोटकीशला, the syllables टुः राजा. N—राजालाबु०. १३ B—कटिल्लका० O—कटिल्लक० १४ B—आलक० १५ O—omits. N—अर्वा०

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एतान्कन्दशाकान्परिविष्य पत्रशाकानि पर्यवेविषुः ।

" कानि कानि पत्रशाकानि ।"

" शाकिनीशाकम् । वास्तुशाकम् । उपोदकाशाकम् । चक्रवर्तशाकम् । मूलकशाकम् । आलुकशाकम् । अगस्त्यशाकम् । शिग्रुशाकम् । सोमवल्लीशाकम् । [१]काण्डीरशाकम् । [२]कुसुम्भशाकम् । [३]कुरण्टकशाकम् । मिश्रेयाभवशाकम् । [४]समष्ठिलाशाकम् । [५]दद्रुघ्नशाकम् । वृद्धदारुशाकम् । श्रीहस्तिनीशाकम् । हिलसाशाकम् । तण्डुलीयकशाकम् । कदलीस्तम्भशाकम् । कदलीपुष्पशाकम् । अगस्त्यपुष्पशाकम् । घृतकुमारीपुष्पशाकम्[६] । एतानि शाकानि परिविष्य घृतपाचितशलाटुवानान्[७] पर्यवेविषुः ।

" के के घृतपाचितशलाटुवानाः ।"

" कारवेल्लवानः । [८]भण्टाकीवानः । कठिल्लकवानम् । [९]निष्पाववानम् । राजमाषवानम् । कण्टकारिवानम् । बृहतीवानम् । सिम्बीवानम् । वन्ध्यावानम् । एतानि घृतपाचितशलाटुवानापि[नपि or न्यपि] परिविष्य कृसरान्नानि पर्यवेविषुः ।"

" कानि कानि [१०]कृसरान्नानि ।"

" दध्यन्नम् । [११]माषपर्पटपिष्टान्नम् । अम्लान्नम् । घृतान्नम् । सिद्धार्थपिष्टान्नम् । तिलपिष्टान्नम् । माषपिष्टान्नम् । एतान्यन्नानि परिविष्य रम्भाग्रपत्रमध्यप्रदेशे शाल्यन्नं परिविष्य [१२]सूपान्पर्यवेविषुः ।

आढकीसूपः । मुद्गसूपः ।[१३] माषसूपः । राजमाषसूपः । चणकसूपः । कुलत्थसूपः । निष्पावसूपः । मसूरसूपः ।[१४] सूपपरिवेषणानन्तरं पायसान्नानि पर्यवेविषुः ।"

" कानि कानि पायसान्नानि पर्यवेविषुः ।"

" गोधूमविकारपायसान्नानि नानाप्रकाराणि । तण्डुलपायसान्नम् । प्रियङ्गुपायसान्नम् ।

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१ O—कदीर० २ C omits. ३ N O and B—कुरटका० ४ O—समष्ठीला०

५ N and C—दर्दुघ्न० B—दद्रु(?)घ्न० O—omits.

६ O N and C add शिग्रुपुष्पशाकम् । Since शिग्रुशाकम् is already noted above this is omitted from the text above. B omits. O omits अगस्त्य and धृतकुमारीपुष्प०

७ C—०वामान्. For वान cf. Anekārtha-Tilaka of Mahīpa, II. 296, p. 32; वानं शुष्कफले क्षामे प्रोते गन्धे कटे गतौ ।

८ B—भटाक० O omits. C—भंटाक० N—भण्टाक०

९ C—निष्पावानं. O and B—निष्पातवानं. Cf. Nāmamālikā of Bhoja, line 545, (Deccan College, ed., 1955) p. 35—अलसान्द्रे राजमाषो निष्पावः श्वेतशिम्बिका ।

१० कृसर (acc. to Monier Williams' Dictionary)—a dish consisting of sesamum and grain ; a mixture of rice and peas with a few spices.

११ B—माषपर्य एतान्यन्नानि परिविष्य ।

१२ O—Omits upto शाल्यन्नं परिविष्य from अद्य कथमागतं श्रीमद्भिः on p. 20 above.

१३ B—आठकी०...मुद्दुसूपः । माषसूपः । राजमाषसूपः ।

१४ O omits from माषसूपः......मसूरसूपः ।

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एतद्दानानन्तरं [१]घृतपाचितपर्पटिकाद्वयं प्रत्येकं दत्त्वा नानाविधान्शाकिनीरसान्दत्त्वा क्वथिकान्पर्यवेविषुः ।

" कान्कान्क्वथिकान्पर्यवेविषुः[२] ।"

" तक्रक्वथिका । आमलकीक्वथिका । [३]तिन्तिणीक्वथिका । दाडिमरसक्वथिका । मरिचसारादि सर्वाः क्वथिकाः परिविष्याऽनन्तरं माहिषं दधि परिविष्य[४] घृतपाचितपक्वान्नानि बहुप्रकाराणि पर्यवेविषुः[५] ।"

" कानि कानि भक्ष्याणि पर्यवेविषुः ।"

" माषवटकाः । मुद्गवटकाः । चणकवटकाः । मण्डकाः लड्डुकाः । शष्कुल्यः[६] । मोदकाः । तिलल्डुकाः । अपूपाः । पूपाः ।[७] पिष्टकाः । अतिरसाः ।[८]

एतत्परिवेषणाऽनन्तरं सद्योघृतं दुग्धं च पर्यवेविषुः ।

एतान्पदार्थान्पुनः पुनः पर्यवेविषन्[९] सुवासिन्यः ।"

" अरे वामनाश्रम यद्दत्तं तत्सर्वं भुक्तं वा न भुक्तम् ।"

" न भुक्तं मया स्वामिनः । मम यद्वस्तु भक्षणयोग्यं तदेव मया गृहीतं स्वामिनः ।"

[१०]कृता वरदभट्टेन गीर्वाणपदमञ्जरी ।
गणेशप्रीतये चैव वैदिकप्रीतये भवेत् ॥

॥ इति श्रीगीर्वाणपदमञ्जरी समाप्ता[११] ॥ शुभमस्तु ॥ ६ ॥

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१ O—पर्यटिकाद्वयं......नानाविधान्नशाकरसान्दत्वा क्वथिका पर्यावेषिपु ।

२ O—पर्यवेविषु.

३ O—तिंतिडी० B—तिंत्रिणी० C—तिंत्रिणी०

४ C—पर्यवेवेष्य B—पर्यवेविध्य O—पर्यवेष्य । N पर्यवेविष्य.

५ B—पर्यवेवेषिपुः O—पर्यवेषिपु C—पर्यवेवेषिपुः.

६ B—शष्कुल्याः । मोदकाः । The reading शष्कुल्याः मोदकाः is equally good. It would mean sweet-balls prepared from baked cakes, just as मण्डकाः लड्डुकाः taken together would mean (sweet) balls of मण्ड of milk, rice etc.

७ O—omits.

८ Is it an older or Sanskritised name of अनारसाः ? In गीर्वाणवाङ्मञ्जरी we have a variant reading अतिरसान् for अनारिसान् or अनारसान्.

९ C—पर्यवेवेष्विषन B—पर्यवेवेषिवुन् O—पर्यवेषिपु.

१० O—कृता वर्दभट्टेन गीर्वाणपदमजरी कृतं ॥ श्रीविश्वेश्वराय नमः ॥

११ C—०समाप्तमिति ॥ शुभमस्तु ॥ श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ श्रीरामचन्द्राय नमः ॥ ६ ॥
N—इति श्रीगीर्वाणपदमंजरी समाप्तम् ॥ सं १७३६ वर्षे चैत्र शुक्लात् षष्ठी ६ भृगु दिने लिखितमधुना ॥

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॥ गीर्वाणवाङ्मञ्जरी ॥

श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥[1]

नत्वा श्रीपति[2]पादपद्मयुगलं[3] विघ्नेश्वरं शारदां[4]
तद्वच्छ्रीगुरुपादपङ्कजयुगं ध्यात्वा ततः सादरम् ।

काशीस्थेन हि धुण्डिराज-कविना गीर्वाणवाङ्मञ्जरी
बालानां सुखबोधनाय रचिता संशोधनीया बुधैः ॥ १ ॥

केवलं वैदिकानां तु शब्दाब्धिमतिदुस्तरम् ।
स्वल्पाभ्यासेन सन्तर्तुं निर्मिता तरणिर्दृढा[5] ॥ २ ॥

शब्दलिङ्गविभक्त्यादि कर्तृकर्मक्रियाऽव्ययम् ।
नानापदार्थसंज्ञाऽर्थमनया बुध्यतेऽखिलम् ॥ ३ ॥

प्रातरारभ्य विदुषा कर्त्तव्यं कर्म यद्भवेत् ।
उक्तमासायपर्यन्तमस्ति यत्क्रमशोऽखिलम् ॥ ४ ॥

उक्तिप्रत्युक्तिभिः किञ्चित्स्त्रीपुंभ्यां वा विनोदि(द)तः ।
गृहकृत्यविधौ सर्वं वक्ष्यमाणमुदीर्यते ॥ ५ ॥

तदाऽऽह—कश्चिद्ब्राह्मणः उषःकाले शयनादुत्थाय प्रातस्स्तोत्रादिकं पठन्स्त्रियं प्रत्यूचिवान् ।[6]

" अयि, मया दीर्घशङ्कार्थं गम्यते । शीघ्रमुदकं[7]देहि । करपादविशोधनार्थं मृत्तिका देया । "

इत्युक्ते सति तया झटित्युत्थाय जलपूरितपात्रं दत्तम् । करपादविशोधनार्थं मृत्तिका दत्ता । तदा[8] तेन शौचादिकं विधाय पीठोपरि स्थित्वा करपादौ प्रक्षाल्य दन्तकाष्ठेन दन्तान्विशोध्य पुनः स्त्रियमुवाच ।

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१ B—श्रीमते भगवन्निम्बार्काय नमः । As the author seems to follow Madhva, it is not likely that he would pay homage to Nimbārka in the beginning. C—श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ अथ भाषामंजरि प्रारंभः ॥

२ O—omits पति, which would be metrically faulty.

३ B & C—०ममलं

४ O—विश्वेश्वरं शांतिदं

५ O—तरणी दृढा

६ C—प्रत्युक्तवान्

७ O—०दंडकं

८ O—omits तदा.

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"अयि, शृणोषि। अद्य मया मणिकर्णिकास्नानार्थं गम्यते। शीघ्रं[1] स्नानसामग्रीं देहि। अग्रोदकपात्रं देहि। अर्घ्यपात्रं रुद्राक्षमालिकां विभूतिवटिकां देहि[2]। देवार्चनपेटिकां तिलनारिकेलं चन्दनं च ददस्व[3]। एतानि[4] शीघ्रमानय[5]।"

पुनस्तयोच्यते—"त्वरा किमर्थं क्रियते। अत्र[6] दीपकस्तु[7] नास्ति। अन्धकारगृहे[8] किमपि न दृश्यते। त्वरितं चेत्कथं भविष्यति।"

इत्युक्ते सति सः क्रोधेनाऽऽह—"भो रण्डे[9], किं वदसि। मम स्नानस्य कालातिक्रमो जायते। सन्ध्यासमयो गच्छति।"

"तूर्णं त्वरा क्रियते तत्किम्[10]।"

इत्युक्त्वा[11] तया सर्वं दत्तम्। पुनस्त्रियमुवाच—

"अयि, अद्य[12] महत्पर्व तिष्ठति। अद्य कश्चिद्ब्राह्मणो निमन्त्रणीयः। कश्चिद्यती (यतिः) वा आकारणीयः[13]। तव जामाता आयास्यति तव भ्राताऽपि आगच्छतु। तव भ्रातुरपत्यान्यपि आयान्तु[14]। तव[15] स्नुषायाः आकारणार्थं द्राग्दुहितरं सम्प्रेषय।"

इत्युक्ते सति पुनः साऽऽह—"तर्हि भवतामपि भ्रातुरपत्यमाकारणीयं खलु।"

"आः तस्याऽर्भकस्य किम्। तन्निमित्तं किं[16] विशिष्टं कर्तव्यं भविष्यति। सर्वेषां मध्ये सोऽप्येकः आयास्यति।"

पुनः सा[17] बभाषे—"विन्दुबिन्दुनैव पुष्करिणी पूर्यते। तस्याऽर्भकस्य गणना कथं न भवतु। तर्हि अद्य भक्ष्यं किं विधेयम्।"

"यन्मनसि आयास्यति तत्कुरु।"

"तर्हि उपसामग्री ह्यानेया[18]।"

"तर्हि पुत्रमाकारय।"

"स तु निद्रितो वर्त्तते।"

"राण्डेयं[19] शीघ्रमुत्थापय।"

"स तु भवत्प्रदेशे एव तिष्ठति। भवद्भिरेव बोधितव्यः।

पुनः स रोषेणाऽऽह—"अरे बलीवर्द, शीघ्रमुत्तिष्ठ। प्रभातं जातम्[20]। एतावत्कालपर्यन्तं किं निद्रितोऽसि। आलस्यं जहीहि।"

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१ C & O—तूर्णं. २ O—omits देहि. C—विभूतिबद्धिकां देवतार्चनपेटिकां. ३ O—तिलनालिके चन्दनं ददस्व. ४ O—एतान्. C—एतानि वस्तूनि शीघ्रमानेहि. ५ O—आनेहि. ६ B—यत्र. ७ C & B—दीपः. ८ O—अन्धकारे गृहे. ९ B—omits. १० B—तूष्णीं त्वरा क्रियते किम्. C हे कान्त तूष्णीं त्वरा किं क्रियते। इत्युक्त्वा तदा० ११ O and B—इत्युक्तेन. १२ O and B omit अद्य. १३ B—आकरणीयः. १४ O—omits तव.....आयान्तु। १५ B and C add—तव श्वशुर(रा) पत्यान्यपि आयान्तु। १६ O—omits किम्. १७ O reads स. १८ O and B—उपसामग्रीमानय। १९ O reads रांडे. B—रंडेयं. २० B & C—प्रभातस्तु जातः.

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इत्युक्ते सति स तूर्णमुत्थितः करौ मेलयित्वा विनयात्प्रणम्य पितुरग्रे स्थितवान्[१]। ततः[२] पिताऽऽह—

"अरे, अद्य गृहे महत्प्रयोजनं तिष्ठति। त्वमापणे गच्छ। उपसामग्रीमानय[३]।"

"तर्हि मुद्रिकाः ढब्बुकाः[४] देयाः।"

पुनः पिताऽऽह—"अरे अन्तःपुरे गच्छ। तत्र दारुमञ्जूषा तिष्ठति। तन्मध्ये [५]जातरूपसम्पुटोऽस्ति। तदन्तः सुवर्णमुद्रिका रजतमुद्रिका बद्धाः[६] सन्ति। तासु रजतमुद्रिकाद्वयं गृहाण। पुनस्तत्सर्वं तादृगेव स्थापनीयम्। पश्चात्तन्मुद्रिकाद्वयं गृहीत्वा बृहदापणे गच्छ। चतुस्तम्भापणे गत्वा मूषक-माधवजी-हट्टे ते विभज्य ढब्बुकान्कृत्वा यद्यदपेक्ष्यते तत्तद्गृहाण।"

"भो पितः किं किं गृह्णामि तद्वदध्वम्।"

ततः पिताऽऽह—"अरे, आदौ वणिजापणेगत्वा तत्र घृतं सार्द्धशेरकद्वयं[७] ग्राह्यम्। तदर्द्धमुद्रिकाया भविष्यति[८]। सिता[९] शर्करा ग्राह्या। पूर्णार्थं[१०] चणकदालिर्ग्राह्या[११]। हिङ्गु ग्राह्यम्[१२]। जीरका ग्राह्या[१३]। हरिद्राचूर्णं ग्राह्यम्। क्रमुकाः ग्राह्याः। एला-[१४]लवङ्ग-जातीफलानि जातिपत्रं च ग्राह्यम्। खदिरं मा विस्मर। कर्पूरो ग्राह्यः। कस्तूरिका[१५] ग्राह्या। केसरं गोरोचनं ग्राह्यम्। उशीरो ग्राह्यः तस्याऽपरं नाम सुगन्धवाळा[१६] इत्युदीरयन्ति जनाः। दशाङ्गं ग्राह्यम्[१७]। तत्र इयत्[१८] गृहीत्वा तदग्रे गच्छ। तत्र पटशोधितगोधूमचूर्णं प्रतिज्ञया[१९] गृहीत्वा शुद्धमाषपिष्टं ग्राह्यम्। शुद्धचणकदालिपिष्टं[२०] ग्राह्यम्। तण्डुलपिष्टं च ग्राह्यम्। ततोऽप्यग्रे शाकापणे[२१] गत्वा यान्यान्शाकान्प्राप्नोषि तान्तान्गृहाण।"

"कान्कान्गृह्णामीति तद्ब्रूत[२२]।"

"अरे आदौ सूरणो[२३] ग्राह्यः। शुभ्रकन्दो ग्राह्यः। रक्तकन्दो ग्राह्यः। कर्कटिका ग्राह्या[२४]। बुद्बुदका[२५] ग्राह्यास्तर्हि सर्षपान् आनयस्व[२६]। कूष्माण्डफलं ग्राह्यम्। पीतकूष्माण्डं च ग्राह्यम्। परोवराणि वृन्ताकानि तुण्डीफलानि[२७] गृह्णीष्व। पटोलफलानि[२८] कारवेल्लानि [२९]पनशफलानि गृहाण। तदग्रे अन्नपूर्णान्तिके[३०]

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१ O—तिष्ठवान्. २ B—तदा. ३ B and C—आनेहि. ४ B—मुद्रिकाः ठबूका. C—ठब्बुकाः. ५ B—सम्पुष्टो. ६ B—बाह्य: C—बहूरितष्टन्ति. ७ O—सार्द्धद्वयशेरं B—सार्द्धशेरकद्वयं. ८ Thus ghee was priced at eight silver coins per maund. The seer may be of 40 or 80 tolas, probably the latter. ९ O—तस्याः सिता. १० पूर्ण = पूरण of modern पूरणपोळी, a very favourite dish of the Mahārāshṭrians. C—पूरणार्थं. ११ O—च एकदा विग्राह्या. १२ C—हिङ्गु ग्राह्यः. १३ C—जीरकामरीचिका ग्राह्याः। १४ B—एलाः लवङ्गा १५ B—कस्तूरी. १६ B and C—नाम सुगंधवाला. १७ दशाङ्गं refers to दशाङ्ग-धूप. १८ B—इदं. १९ B—प्रतिज्ञाया. २० B—दालिका० २१ B—शाकाशापणे. २२ O—तदब्रूत. B—तद्ब्रूहि. २३ B—शूरणो. २४ B—कर्कटिका ग्राह्याः. C—कर्कटि० २५ B—बुदबुदका. O and C—बुद्बुकाः. २६ C omits सर्षपा० २७ तुम्बीफलानि० २८ C adds कोशांतकी ग्राह्या। २९ O—फनसानि. ३० अन्नपूर्णा—This is a reference to the famous shrine of अन्नपूर्णा at Banaras. Near the shrine, plaintains etc. were sold. अन्नपूर्णा does not seem to be a market name like शाकापण, वणिजापण etc. noted in the text.

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गत्वा तत्राऽपक्वकदलीफलानि पक्वकदलीफलानि[१] च गृहाण। कदलीगर्भकन्दं कदलीकुसुमानि च गृहाण[२]। तत्र नागवल्लीदलानि मागधीयानि पक्वानि गृहाण[३]। ततोऽपि इत आगत्य काल-भैरवापणे[४] गत्वा तत्र बहवः पत्रशाका वर्तन्ते तेषु प्रथमतः मेथीपत्रं[५] ग्राह्यम्। तण्डुलपत्राणि [६]उपोदकीपत्राणि चक्रमर्दकपत्राणि बृहतीफलानि गृहाण। [७]वनकारवेल्लानि मिलिष्यन्ति चेद्गृह्णीष्व। [८]रक्तकन्दपत्राणि शुभ्रकन्दपत्राणि प्राप्स्यसे तर्हि गृहाण। अरे तिन्तिणीं[९] मा विस्मर। तथैव शृङ्गवेरं गृहाण दीर्घरम्भापत्राणि आनय। अतोऽप्यधिकं यद्दृश्यते तद्गृहाण।"

"भो पितः एतेषां पदार्थानां स्मरणं कथं भविष्यति।"

[इति] तेन उक्ते सति पुनः क्रोधेन जनिताऽऽह[१०]—

"अरे मूर्ख त्वं केवलं गर्दभप्रायोऽसि। तवाष्टादशवर्षाणि कुतो गतानि को वेद। हे मूढशिरोमणे तर्हि एकस्मिन्कागदे[११] सर्वमालिख तमालोक्य[१२] सर्वं गृह्णीष्व।" इत्युक्त्वा पुनर्जगाद—

"आः अद्य मम भूरि विलम्बो जातः।[१३] अतीव कालक्षेपो[१४] जातः। अहह ममाऽदृष्टस्य सर्वेऽपि[१५] मूर्खतराः मिलिताः।

यथेऽयं दुर्भगा रण्डा तथाऽयं मन्दधीः सुतः।
अनयोस्सङ्गदोषेण कुतः श्रेयो भवेन्मम॥ १॥

भवतु अतः परं स्थातुं न शक्यते।" इत्युदीर्य गङ्गातीरेणैव मणिकर्णिकां गतः। तत्र गत्वा महाप्रयोगमुच्चार्य यथाविधि स्नानं विधाय सन्ध्यामनुष्ठितवान्। तदनन्तरं ब्रह्मयज्ञं [१६]निवापश्च (पं च) विधाय [१७]भगवन्तं यथोत्पादितद्रव्यैः सम्पूज्य पुनरुत्थितस्तत्रैकमयाचित-वृत्तिनं[१८] ब्राह्मणं निमन्त्र्य [१९]पुनर्घट्टमारुह्य संन्यासिनां मठे गतः। तत्र बहवो दण्डिनः स्थिताः। तेषु एको वृद्धस्तुन्दिलो यतिः स्थितः[२०]। तमालोक्य तदन्तिके गतः। दण्डवत्प्रणम्य वाक्यमुवाच—

"स्वामिनः, श्रीमतां दर्शनेन अहमतीव कृतार्थो जातः।"

इत्युक्ते सति स्वामिभिः 'नारायण नारायणे'त्युक्तम्। तदाऽयं पुनरूचिवान्—

"स्वामिनः श्रीमतामत्रैव स्थितिर्वा।" पुनः स्वामिना 'नारायण' इत्युक्तम्[२१]।

"अतिसमीचीनो मठस्तिष्ठति। अतिसम्यक्स्थलं वर्तते। स्वामिनः[२२] किञ्चिद्विज्ञप्तुकामोऽस्मि, अङ्गीकृतं चेद्वक्ष्यामि।"

"किं तद्ब्रूहि[२३]।"

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१ O omits पक्व...दलानि. २ B. गृह्णीष्व. ३ O omits तत्र नाग....गृहाण। ४ Market near the shrine of Kāla-Bhairava. ५ O—मेथिकापत्रं. ६ B—उपौदकी. C—कूपोदकी० ७ O—वनकारवेल्लि. ८ O—रक्तकंठ० ९ O—तंत्रिणी. १० जनयता. ११ O—पत्रे. १२ सर्वमालिखितं तदालोक्य. B—सर्वं समालिखितमालोक्य. C—सर्वं समालिख्य तमालोक्य। १३ O—मम विलम्बो जात भूरि. १४ O—०क्षयो. १५ O—च for अपि. C—अहह मम दिष्टस्य सर्वेऽपि० १६ B omits निवापश्च. १७ B—भगवत. १८ B—मयाचितवृत्तिं. १९ B—घटमा० २० O—तेषु एको वृद्धो यतिस्थितमालोक्य तदन्तिको गतः। B—एषु एकः वृद्धः स्तुंदिलो यती स्थितः etc. २१ O and B read only "नारायण", but C preserves the whole line as above. २२ अति सम्यगलंकृतो वर्तते तिष्ठति. २३ O—तत् ब्रूत

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"श्रीमद्भिरद्य मम गृहे भिक्षार्थमागन्तव्यं चे[१]त्कृतकृत्यो भवामि। स्वामिनः ममाद्य जन्मनः साफल्यं जातम्।"

ततः परं यतिवर्यैरुच्यते[२]—

"अरे, तव का वा ज्ञातिः।"

"स्वामिनः अहं महाराष्ट्रो[३]ऽस्मि।"

"एवं किल तर्हि महाराष्ट्राणां गृहे अस्मदादीनां भिक्षा तु अतीव शस्ता[४]। ततस्त्वं श्रोतियोऽसि किम्।

"स्वामिनः श्रोत्रियोऽस्मि[५]।"

"तर्हि सम्यग्जातम्। कुतः—

याचयेच्छ्रोत्रियस्यान्नं तदभावे जलं पिबेत्। तदद्य घटितम्। अरे, परं तु त्वं गौडवद्भाससे रे[६]। किमिदम्।"

"सत्यम्, स्वामिनः, मम जन्म गौडदेश एव जातम्[७]। मम पितुरपि जन्म तत्रैव जातम्। आवाभ्यां तत्रैवाधीतम्।"

"एवं वा तर्हि तव पितुर्नामधेयं किम्।"

"स्वामिनः मम पितुर्नाम अदब्धव्रतप्रमतिर्वसिष्ठभट्टाचार्य इति प्रसिद्धम्।"[८]

"तव नाम।"

"मम नाम झिलिमिलिझाङ्कार-शौचालङ्कार-अलर्षियुध्-मखजकृत्-पुरन्दर-भट्टाचार्य[९] इत्युदीरयन्ति जनाः।"

"सत्यं तत्रत्यानामेतादृशमेव दीर्घतरं नाम भवति। त्वमपि तत्रत्यः किल।"

"स्वामिनः।"

इत्युक्त्वा पुनरूचिवान्[१०]–"स्वामिनस्तर्हि उत्थानं कर्तव्यम्। समयस्तु जातः[११]। अतः परं दण्डकमण्डल्वादिकं गृहीत्वा मया सहैव श्रीमद्भिरागन्तव्यम्।"

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१ O—तत्
२ B—यतिनोच्यते
३ B—महाराष्टो०
४ C—अति प्रशस्ता
५ B and O omit this as well as किम् from the preceding line
६ B—गौडवभदाससे रे
७ O—omits एव
८ B—०नाम अदग्धवृत प्रमति वीसिष्ट भट्टाचार्थ इति etc.
O—०नाम अदब्धव्रत प्रमति वसिष्ठ भट्ट इति....
९ B—मम नाम स्वामिनः झिलिमिलि झांकार शौचलंकारयुज्मखकृत्पुरंदर भट्टाचार्य......
O—झिलिमिति झांकार शौचेलंकार अलर्पियुध्मखजकृत् पुरंदर भट्टाचार्य......
C—झिलिमिति...शौचेलंकारअलर्पियुध्मखजकृत्......।
१० B—०वान्सः
११ O & B omit स्वामिनस्तर्हि ......जातः।

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इत्युक्ते सति स्वामिभिरुच्यते—

"अरे तव गृहं कियद्दूरं[१] तिष्ठति। कस्मिन्घट्टेऽस्ति।

"स्वामिनः मम गृहं समीपे तिष्ठति। दुग्धविनायकसमीपे वर्त्तते। गङ्गादास इति प्रसिद्धो महाजनस्तस्यायतनसमीपे ममाऽपि वेश्म तिष्ठति।"

"तर्हि भवतु।"

इत्युक्त्वा[२] स्वामिनः उत्थिताः। दण्डकमण्डल्वादिकं गृहीतम्। तदा स्वामिनः शिष्यं प्रत्यूचुः[३]—

"अरे मेधाश्रम त्वया अद्य अत्रैव स्थातव्यम्। मठं [४]त्यक्त्वा कुत्राऽपि न गन्तव्यम्।"

"तर्हि स्वामिनः भिक्षार्थं कुत्रचिद् गन्तव्यं खलु।"

"अरे किं वदसि। अद्य कुत्राऽपि मा गच्छ[५]। तत्र पृथुकास्तिष्ठन्ति[६]। तक्रं वर्त्तते। काष्ठभाजने लवणं विद्यते[७]। तद् गृहीत्वा तदेव भक्षणीयम्। कुतः भ्राम्यसि[८]।"

इत्युक्त्वा स्वामिभिः प्रयातम्। तदा यजमान आह—

"स्वामिनः भवन्तः अग्रे भवन्तु। अहं पश्चाद्भवामि।"

इत्याकर्ण्य यतिभिरुक्तम्[९]—

"न हि न हि[१०] त्वमग्रतो भव। अहं पश्चाद्भवामि। अतीवसम्मर्दस्तिष्ठति। त्वया सर्वेषां निराकरणं कर्त्तव्यं नो चेत्स्पर्शो भविष्यति।"

इत्युक्ते सति तेनाङ्गीकृतं तथैव कृतवान्। [११]पुनस्तावुभौ गृहमागतौ। अन्तर्गृहमागत्य पुत्रमाकारयामास—

"अरे प्रभाकर शीघ्रमेहि। स्वामिनां पादप्रक्षालनार्थमुदकं देहि।"

इत्युक्ते सति तेन शीघ्रमुदकमानीतम्। तदा यजमानः स्वहस्तेन स्वामिपादौ प्रक्षाल्य तदम्भसा शिरसि अभ्युदयान्तःपुरे गतः। ततः स्वामिनः [१२]बृहत्पीठोपरि सावकाशं तस्थुः। तदा ये भोजनार्थ-

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१ O—कियदि(द)तिदूरे. B—कियदूरं.

२ O—इत्युत्का. B—इत्युक्ता. Both O and B often misspel उक्त्वा and write उक्ता. Such variants are not noted.

३ O—प्रत्यूचः.

४ B and O—त्यत्का.

५ O—अरे वदसि अत्र कुत्रापि गच्छत.

६ B—पृथुकस्तिष्ठति.

७ B and C omits काष्ठ....विद्यते.

८ B and C—कुतः श्राम्यसि. O—कुतः भ्राम्यसि.

९ O—उच्यते.

१० O—omits one नहि.

११ O—omits after नो चेत्, स्पर्शो....पुनः.

१२ B—बृहतिठो० C—ब्रह्मपी०

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मागतः स्थितास्तैस्सर्वैः स्नात्वाऽन्तरागतम् । ततः यजमानो भगवतः षोडशोपचारपूजन कृत्वा नैवेद्यं [१]निवेद्य वैश्वदेवं बलीहरणं चकार ततोऽन्तःपुरे गत्वा स्वामिनामधोदेशे सर्वान्यथास्थानं[२] सन्निवेश्य अमत्राणि ददौ । तेषां मध्ये यतीनां तु पत्रमतीव विपुलम् साग्रं दत्तवान् । द्रोण सप्तकं ददौ । अन्येषां दीर्घतराणि रम्भापत्राणि[३] पत्रपुटद्वयमदापयत्[४] । ततः यतिवर्यान्पञ्चो-पचारैः सम्पूज्य, अन्यान्गन्धाक्षतादिभिरलङ्कृत्य[५] सर्वेषां चरणतीर्थमग्रहीत् । ततः स्त्रियं प्रत्युवाच —

" अयि, आदौ घृतेन सर्वेषां पत्राण्यभिधार्य शीघ्रं परिवेषय । "

इत्युक्ते सति सा [६]द्रागुत्थाय परिवेषयामास। आदौ लवणं परिवेषयित्वा पश्चाल्लवणशाकान्परिविविषे[७]। आम्रोपदंशं परिविविषे निम्बूफलानामुपदंशं शृङ्गवेरोपदंशं सूरणोपदंशं धात्रीफलानामुपदंशं बदरी-फलानामुपदंशं [८]वृन्ताकस्योपदंशं[९] कर्वदस्योपदंशं[१०] मूलकस्योपदंशं[११] कीचकाङ्कुराणामुपदंशमुर्वा-रुकोपदंशम्। बृहतीफलशलाटुः[१२] अलाबुशलाटुः[१३] कदलीकुसुमशलाटुः[१४] कदलीगर्भस्य शलाटुः[१५] । कारवेल्लस्य लवणशाकं शालफलानां लवणशाकं[१६] गर्जराणां लवणशाकं ततः परं नानाविधशाकान्परि-विविषे । ततः शुद्धमाषवटकान्परिविविषे[१७] मेथीवटिकाः तिलवटिकाः[१८] कूष्माण्डवटिकाः[१९] अम्बष्ट-वटिकाः[२०] कूष्माण्डबीजवटिकाः परिवेषितवती । ततः पर्पटकान्पर्यवेषयत् ।[२१] दधिवटकाः पर्यवेषयत् । द्राक्षवटकाः[२२] पर्यवेषयत् । [२३]शुद्धचणकदालिनिर्मितदधिसार्षपोपस्कृतलाडुवटिकान्पर्यवेषयत् । मेथीकूटं परिविविषे । ततः परमतिसूक्ष्मशालितण्डुलानामोदनं सर्वेषां मध्ये परिविविषे[२४] । तदुपरि शुद्धाडकीसूपं[२५] परिविविषे । ततो नानाविधानि भक्ष्याणि परिविविषे । तेषां विशेषमाह आदौ [२६]पूर्णगर्भास्ततो मण्डकान्लडुकान्परिविविषे[२७] । घृतपाचितसुपक्वमाषवटकाः[२८] परिविविषे । अनारिसान् (परिविविषे ।[२९]) अपामालून्[३०] परिविविषे । शष्कुलीदधिका० (काः परिविविषे)[३१] ।

पूरिकाः परिविविषे। वटपूरिकाः [३२]फेनिकाश्च परिविविषे। चीरवटिकाः[३३] परिविविषे। [३४]घृतापूपान्पर्यवे-षयत्। जिह्वालेह्याः[३५] परिविविषे पर्पटिकाः परिविविषे। ततः[३६] शर्करोपस्कृतपूरिकाः परिविविषे[३७]।

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१ O—omits निवेद्य. २ B and C—सर्वान्यथाययथास्थानं. O—सर्वान्याधाय यथास्थानं. ३ B—दीर्घभावपत्राणि. ४ O—०मादापयत्. ५ O—आगतान्गन्धाक्षतादिभि० ६ O—सा सद्रागु० ७ O—Everywhere O and C give परिवेशिषे for परिविविषे of B. O gives परिवेषयामास and परिवेषयित्वा for परिवेशयामास and परिवेशयित्वा of B. Though परिविश् is occasionally used, the original धातु was परिविष्. C omits आम्रोपदंशं परिविविषे. ८ Omitted by O. ९ O—०पदंशः. १० Omitted by B. ११ O and C—०पदंशः. I have brought together all the उपदंशs which are not in order in both the texts. १२ C—बृहतीफलानां शलादुः B—बृहतीफलस्य लाडुः । १३ B—अलाम्बुशलाडुः. १४ B—कदलीकुसुमलाडुः. १५ B—०लाडुः । १६ C and B omit. १७ O—०भास. B—०मास. १८ B omits. १९ B—कूष्मांडलावटिका. २० B—अम्बष्ट. C and O—अंगुष्ठ. २१ B—परिवेविशे. २२ C—दधिवटिकाः and द्राक्षवटिकाः । २३ O and C—सर्षपयोप० २४ B omits मेथिकूटं......मध्ये परिविविषे. २५ C—°रूं; B—स्तूपं. २६ C, O, B—पूरण० २७ C, B—मंडुकान्परिविविषे लडुकान्परिविविषे. २८ C and B—घृतपाचितशुष्कमासवटिकान्० २९ B, C—अतिरसान् परिवेशय. ३० B—अपामूलून्० ३१ O—omits. C—शकुली परि० ३२ O, C—फेणिकाश्च. ३३ C, B—चिरवटिका. ३४ C—घृतपूरितपूपान्. ३५ B—लेह्यः C—०लेह्यान्. ३६ C, B—omit ततः. ३७ O—omits परिविविषे.

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[1]मोदकान्तिललड्डुकान्मुद्गलड्डुकान्घृतभर्जितगोधूमचूर्णलड्डुकान्पर्यवेषयत् । [2]पेटकान्पर्यवेषयत् । अत ऊर्ध्वं नानाविधानि भक्ष्याणि परिविविषे ।

ततः पायसान्नानि परिविविषे। गोधूमविकारजानि[3] सप्तविधानि पायसान्नानि परिविविषे। केवलमाष-[4]तण्डुलपाचितपायसान्नं प्रियङ्गुपायसान्नं च परिविविषे। तदुपरि [5]शुद्धसिताशर्करां परिवेषयामास । ततो गोघृतेनैव सर्वेषां द्रोणाः पूरिताः । तदनन्तरं व्यञ्जनोपस्कृतक्काथीं परिविविषे[6] । तन्निकटे मरीचचूर्णं[7] परिविविषे ।

स्वामिनां द्रोणसप्तके किं किं परिविष्टं तदाह—

दधि-दुग्ध-घृत-क्काथि-तक्र-पूरणसारकैः ॥
षड् द्रोणाः पूरिताः पूर्णं[8] यतीन्द्राणामथाऽऽदरात् ॥ २ ॥

एकं (को) जलपानार्थं स्थापितः। ततो यजमानो ब्रह्मार्पणेनान्नं सङ्कल्पितवान्। ततः प्राक्[9] स्वामिनां हस्तोदकं ददौ । ततस्सर्वैरापोशनं[10] गृहीतम् । यजमानोऽपि तेषां पङ्क्तौ स्वयमपि भुक्तवान् । तदा स्वामिनः बहून्पदार्थान्निरीक्ष्य परं व्याकुलतया[11] बुभुजुः । ततः यजमानः श्रीपादान्प्रार्थयामास ।

"स्वामिनः अद्य परमतिक्रालो जातः । सावकाशतया भोक्तव्यम् ।

यद्रोचते तद्ग्राह्यं यन्न रोचते तत्त्याज्यम्[12] ।"

एवमेव सर्वेषां प्रार्थनां चकार। ततस्सर्वैर्यथारुचि भुक्त्वा स्वामिनं पुरस्कृत्योत्थितम्। ततस्स्वामिनां हस्तप्रक्षालनार्थमुदकमादापयत्[13] । करशोधनार्थं शर्करा दत्ता । दन्तशोधनार्थं वेणुशलाकामदापयत्[14] । करोद्वर्तनार्थं चन्दनं दत्तम् । ततस्स्वामिनस्स्वच्छतया[15] हस्तपादप्रक्षालनं कृत्वाऽगस्त्यादीनां स्मरणं चक्रुः । ततो यजमानः यतिवर्यान्पुरस्कृत्य, अन्यान्सर्वानादाय सौधान्तरे गतवान् । तत्र बृहत्पीठोपरि स्वामिनः सावकाशं तस्थुः । अन्ये विचित्रास्तरणोपरि स्थिताः । तदा यजमानेन स्वामिनां मुखशुद्ध्यर्थं [16]मुष्टिपरिमितलवङ्गा दत्ताः । अन्येषां ताम्बूलदक्षिणादिकं दत्त्वा विसर्जयामास । ततस्ते सर्वे यजमानायाशिषं प्रयुज्य स्वं स्वं निकेतनं जग्मुः । ततो यजमानः श्रीपादानां[17] नमस्कारार्थं स्त्रीपुत्रादीनाकारयामास । ततो[18] यजमानस्य पत्नी भर्तुर्वाक्यं श्रुत्वा सर्वं कार्यं परित्यज्य स्नुषां दुहितरौ च समादाय तत्र तूर्णं समागता । तत्राऽऽगत्य विनयात्प्रणनाम[19] । तदा स्वामिभिः सादरं दृष्ट्वा 'नारायण नारायण'–त्युक्तम् । पश्चात्साऽन्तःपुरे गता । ततस्स्वामिन ऊचुः ।

"अरे, इयं तव गृहिणी किम् ।"

"स्वामिनः ।"

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१ C—मुद्गललड्डुकान्. २ C—adds before पेटकान्—शिश्राङ्कलड्डुकान् परि० ३ O—विकारानि. ४ B—केवलमिषतंदुलपचित. ५ B—omits सिता. ६ C—परिवेषय० (परिवेषयामास). ७ B—मरीची. ८ C, B—तूर्णं. ९ B—द्राक्. १० C—अपोशनं. ११ C—आकुलतया. १२ B—तस्यज्यताम्. १३ B—०मदात् १४ O—omits करशोधनार्थं......वेणुशलाकामदापयत् । १५ B—०कृत्स्नया० १६ O—०मुष्टिपूरित० १७ O & B—श्रीपदानां. १८ C—तदा. १९ O—प्रणेमुः.

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" परं साध्वी भवति । यत्राऽऽकृतिस्तत्र गुणा वसन्तीति श्रुतं स्थितं तदद्य दृष्टम्[१] । त्वं परं भाग्यवानसि । कुतः

भोज्यं भोजनशक्तिश्च रतिशक्तिर्वराङ्गना[२] ।
विभवो[३] दानशक्तिश्च नाल्पस्य तपसः फलम् ॥ १ ॥

इत्युक्तं वर्तते । ते सर्वे गुणास्त्वयि दृष्टाः[४] । त्वत्तोऽन्यः कश्चिद्भाग्यवान्न[५] । "

" स्वामिनः सर्वं भवतां प्रसादात्खलु । "

" अरे, तव कति अपत्यानि तिष्ठन्ति । "

" स्वामिनः द्वौ पुत्रौ स्तः द्वे दुहितरौ च[६] ।

" इमौ द्वावपि तव कुमारौ वा । "

" स्वामिनः । "[७]

" एतयोर्नाम किम् । "

" स्वामिनः ज्येष्ठस्य दिवाकर इति नाम । अपरस्य प्रभाकरशर्मा इत्यभिधानम् । "[८]

" एताभ्यां किञ्चित्पठ्यते । "

" स्वामिनः किञ्चिद्व्याकरणं पठ्यते । काव्यानि पठ्यन्ते । कोशादिकमधीतं वर्त्तते । "

" एवं वा तर्हि सम्यक् । [९]एनयोर्विवाहो जातोऽस्ति [न] वा । "

" स्वामिनः ज्येष्ठस्य लग्नं जातं कनीयसः[१०] न । "

" एवं तर्हि तव स्नुषा न दृश्यते । "

" स्वामिनः अधुना प्रणामार्थमागता स्थिता खलु सैव । "

" एवं[११] वा तर्हि [१२]अतिशोभना वर्त्तते । परं लावण्यवती वर्त्तते । तव पुत्रस्य योग्या भवति । "

" स्वामिनः । "

" एतस्याः प्रथमरजोत्सवो जातो वर्त्तते[न]वा । "

" जातः स्वामिनः । "

" कति दिनानि जातानि । "

" स्वामिनः मासद्वयं जातम् । "

" एवं वा तर्हि सम्यक् । परंतु सर्वेषामाज्ञया वर्त्तते खलु । "

" एतावत्पर्यन्तं तिष्ठति । "

" अरे, त्वं परं भाग्यवानसि । "

" स्वामिनः सर्वं भवतां कृपया । "

" अपरा षोडशवार्षिकी दृष्टा, सा का । "

" स्वामिनः मम ज्येष्ठदुहिता । "

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१ O—घटितम् २ C & B—वरा स्त्रियः ३ B—विभवे ४ B—अनापि दृष्टाः । C—त्वयि दृष्टाः O—त्वयि दृश्यन्ते ५ B—omits न ६ B & C—वत्तते. ७ C—omits. ८ अपरस्य प्रभाकर इत्यभिधानं. C—ज्येष्टस्य दिवाकर इति शर्म अपरस्य प्रभाकर इत्यभिधानं. O—omits इत्यभिधानं. ९ O—एतयो०. १० O –कनिष्टस्य. ११ B and C—omit एवम्. १२ B—अतितरा.

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"अरे, एतस्याः परिणेता स एव वा।"

"[स्वामिनः।]"

"आः इदं किं कृतम्। स कनीयान्दृश्यते [१]ह्रस्वोऽपि वर्त्तते। अनया योग्यो न भवति। तव एतादृशी लावण्यवती कन्या। स रण्डेयः ईदृक् दुर्भगः[२]। इदमनुचितं कृतम्।"

"स्वामिनः, तस्याः ब्रह्मसूत्रेण कृतम्। मया किं कर्तव्यम्। परं तु वयसा अधिकस्तिष्ठति परं तु ह्रस्वो वर्त्तते।"

"भवतु, अपरस्याः विवाहो जातो वा न[३]।"

"न हि स्वामिनः।"

"तर्हि तस्या एवं न[४] कर्त्तव्यम्। हो द्रष्टव्यम्।"

"स्वामिनः तस्याः प्रारब्धगत्या यद्भविष्यति तद्भवतु।"

"अरे, तव कनिष्ठकुमारस्य लग्नं कदा भविष्यति।"

"स्वामिनः मासचतुष्टयादूर्ध्वं भविष्यति।"

"तर्हि कुत्रचिद्योजितं वर्त्तते।"

"हो स्वामिनः[५] ब्रह्मघट्टे एकस्त्र्यम्बकभट्टनामा[६] ब्राह्मणस्तिष्ठति। तस्य दुहित्रा साकं घटितार्थः। तथेति तेन[७] दास्यामीत्युक्तं वर्त्तते। परंतु ऋणानुबन्धो बलवत्तरः। अपरं च—

भ्रमन्वनान्ते नवमञ्जरीषु न षट्पदो [गन्धफलीं हि] जिघ्रति।

सा किं न रम्या स च किं न रन्ता बलीयसी केवलमीश्वरेच्छा॥"[८]

"एवं वा तर्हि अहं तं जानामि। तस्य गृहे मया बहुवारं भिक्षार्थं गतं वर्त्तते। तस्य भार्या अतीव[९] साध्वी वर्त्तते। अतिशोभना वर्त्तते। तया मयि भूरिस्नेहो विधीयते[१०]। तस्या हस्ते[११] पाकस्तु अतिरुचिरो भवति। परं कुशला वर्त्तते। तर्हि सा तव योग्या भवति[१२]।"

"स्वामिनः उपहास्यते किम्[१३]।"

"न हि रे, तव सम्बन्धयोग्या भवति। कुलीना वर्त्तते। तामहं जानामीति कृत्वा उच्यते।"

"द्रष्टव्यं स्वामिनः, यदा भविष्यति तदा खलु।"

"न हि न हि त्वं सुकृती असि। ईश्वरस्य कृपया तव वाञ्छितं शीघ्रं भविष्यति।"

"तथास्तु।"

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१ B—तरुणोऽपि. C—रुग्णोऽपि. २ B—ईंद्रियदुर्भगः. ३ O—omits न. ४ C—omits न. ५ O—omits हो. ६ C—ब्रह्मघट्टे भास्कर नामा. ७ C—घटितार्थस्त्व यातितेन. B—घटितार्थः त्वदाचितेन. ८ O and B omit from अपरं च......to केवलमीश्वरेच्छा. ९ O—अतिसाध्वी. C—अतीव अतीव साध्वी. १० O—मयि बहुस्नेहो वर्त्तते. ११ C—omits हस्ते. १२ B—भवसि. O and C—भवति. १३ B—स्वामिनः उपहससि. C—स्वामिनः उपहस्यते किम्।

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पुनः स्वामिनः ऊचुः —

"अरे परं तु मया तव [1]भार्यया समा काऽपि योषिन्न दृष्टा । एतस्याः गुणान्किं वर्णयामि । कुतः, मूहूर्त्तद्वयाऽभ्यन्तरं यया एतादृशः समीचीनो पाको विहितः । एते पदार्थाः रचिताः । पुनः सर्वान्परिविष्य ब्राह्मणान्यथेच्छं भोजयित्वा द्राक्[2] स्वयमपि भुक्त्वा त्वयाऽऽकारिते[3] सति अत्राऽपि आगता । एतावानुद्योगः । अन्यासां स्त्रीणामायास्यति [न][4] वा । एते गुणा अभ्यास-सिद्धा न भवन्ति । कुतः —

दातृत्वं प्रियवक्तृत्वं धीरत्वमुचितज्ञता[5] ।
अभ्यासेन न लभ्यन्ते चत्वारः सहजा गुणाः ॥

एते सर्वे गुणास्तव योषिति वर्त्तन्ते । त्वयाऽतिभाग्यवशादियं लब्धा । तव परं सुखदात्री भवतु । अरे, श्रृणु, तव योषित्सगर्भा वर्त्तते किम् ।"

"सत्यं स्वामिनः । मासचतुष्टयं जातं वर्त्तते ।"

"एवं तर्हि मया आदावेव ज्ञातम् ।"

"सत्यम् ।"

"तर्हि सम्यग्जातम् । अष्टपुत्रा भवतु ।"

"तथाऽस्तु ।"

पुनः ऊचुः स्वामिनः —

"अरे, तव पिता वाराणसीं त्यक्त्वा गौडदेशे बहुवर्षपर्यन्तं किमर्थं स्थितः ।"

"स्वामिनः विद्याभ्यासार्थं स्थितः[6] ।"

"तर्हि काश्यामध्ययनं न भवति किम्[7] ।"

"'न भवति' कुतः । भवति, परं तु तत्र तर्के अधीतम्[8] ।

"किमधीतम्[9] ।"

"स्वामिनः यथा पितृचरणैरभ्यासः कृतस्तावान्मया[10] कर्तुं न शक्तम् । तदर्धं किञ्चिन्मयाऽपि[11] अभ्यस्तम् ।"

"किं किमभ्यस्तं भवता ।"

"स्वामिनः मया आदौ पञ्चप्रकरणान्यधीतानि, ततश्चिन्तामणिरधीतः । पश्चाच्छिरोमणिरभ्यस्तः । तदनु मथुरानाथी अधीता । ततो भावानन्दी[12] पठिता । ततो मिश्रान्ताऽपि ग्रन्था दृष्टाः ।"

"अन्यत् किमधीतम् ।"

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१ B—भार्यायाः. २ C—प्राक् O—ईदृक् स्वयमपि भुक्त्वा. ३ O—आकारिता. ४ O—आयास्यन्ति. B—०स्त्रीणां त्रया (पा ?) अतीव. ५ C—उचितज्ञया. B—पाविव्यं वितविज्ञतां. ६ B. omits this reply. ७ O—कुतः ८ O—तर्कमधीतं । ९ C—omits. १० C—तावत्. O omits from कृतः... ..अभ्यस्तम् । ११ C—omits अपि. १२ C and B—भवानन्दी.

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" अष्टादशाऽपि कोशा दृष्टाः वर्त्तन्ते। भाष्यान्तं व्याकरणमधीतम्। मीमांसायामप्यध्ययनं वर्त्तते। वेदान्तेऽपि परिश्रमोऽस्ति। अष्टादशपुराणानि पठितानि[1] वर्त्तन्ते। छन्दोऽलङ्कारनाटक-साहित्यसहितानि काव्यानि अपि पठितानि वर्त्तन्ते। ज्योतिषेऽपि अभ्यासोऽस्ति। वैद्यकेऽपि परिश्रमो विहितः। सङ्गीतेऽपि भूरिपरिश्रमो[2] वर्त्तते। अतोऽप्यधिकं यत्किञ्चिद्वर्त्तते तत्र सर्वत्र मम[3] अभिनिवेशो वर्त्तते।"

स्वामिनः उचुः—" त्वया सर्वमधीतं वेदो नाधीतः किम्, शिव शिव।"

" स्वामिनः वेदं विना ब्राह्मणत्वं कुत्र। ब्राह्मणानामादौ वेदाध्ययनं पश्चात्किमपि भवतु।"

" तर्हि [4]कान्वेदानधीतवानसि।"

" ऋग्वेदोऽथ यजुर्वेदः सामवेदो ह्यथर्वणः।
वेदा अधीताश्चत्वारः सषडङ्गपदक्रमाः॥"[5]

" एवं वा तर्हि सम्यक् न हि मया श्रूयते वङ्गदेशीया ब्राह्मणाः केवलं वेदबाह्या भवन्ति।"

" सत्यम्, स्वामिनः। तत्रस्था ब्राह्मणाः स्मृतिप्रामाण्येन[6] वर्त्तन्ते। न तु[7] वेदाध्ययनं कुर्वन्ति।"

" एवं वा भवतु। अन्यत्किञ्चिन्मया श्रुतं वर्त्तते। यत्तत्रत्याः ब्राह्मणा अपि[8] मत्स्याशनं कुर्वन्ति। तर्हि अयं तु[9] भूयान्दुराचारः क्रियते तैः। इदं सत्यं वा अलीकम्।"

" तत्तु सत्यं[10] स्वामिनः।"

" एतादृशो दुराचारः कुत्र नास्ति[11]।"

" सर्वत्र एकैकः दुराचारस्तिष्ठति।"

" एतादृशः दुराचारः कुत्रचित् तिष्ठति किम्।"[12]

" अहं दर्शयामि स्वामिनः। भवद्भिर्द्रष्टव्यम्—

आदौ दक्षिणदेशे कलौ मातुलकन्याप्रणयनं (परिणयनं) दुराचारः[13]। वर्षचतुष्टयात्प्राक् कन्याया विवाहो[14] दुराचारः। आन्ध्रदेशे[15] हलचरणं[16] दुराचारः। श्रीमतां कर्णाटकदेशे[17] स्नानं विना भोजनं दुराचारः। ताम्रपात्रे गव्यादिनिक्षेपणं[18] दुराचारः। द्रविडकेरलयोः सर्वासां कुचदर्शनं दुराचारः। पथि पर्युषितान्नभक्षणं दुराचारः। केरलदेशे उपरिसुरतं दुराचारः। कोङ्कणदेशे वृक्षारोहणं दुराचारः। गुर्जरदेशे चर्मोदकपानं[19] तृतीयदिने रजस्वलास्नानं दुराचारः। उत्तरदेशे कलौ मांसभक्षणं दुराचारः। क्वचित् शुष्कमांसभक्षणं दुराचारः।

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१ C—अष्टादशानि पुराणानि कथितानि. O—॰कथितानि. B—अष्टानि काव्यानि पठितानि वर्त्तन्ते। २ B—सांगीतेपरि भूरि परिश्रमो॰ C—संगीतेपि परिश्रमोस्ति. ३ O—न मे ४ O omits कान्. ५ C—चत्वारो वेदा अधीता सषडंगपदक्रमाः। O—वेदाधीता.....पदविक्रमाः। ६ O—प्रमाणेन. ७ B. च. ८ O and C omit अपि. ९ O—omits तु. १० O—तत्सत्यं. C—न तु. ११ C—एतादृशाः दुराचाराः कुत्र नास्ति. B—॰कुत्रापि नास्ति. १२ C—एतादृशः कुत्रचित् दुराचारस्तिष्ठंति किं। B. एतादृश कुत्र दुरस्तिष्ठति किं। O omits एतादृश.....तिष्ठति. १३ C—॰कन्यावरणं इदमेव दुराचारः। O—omits कलौ. B—omits दुराचारः। १४ O—कन्याप्रणयनं. C—कन्याविवाहो. १५ B—अन्ध्रदेशे. १६ C—हलवहने. १७ C—कर्नाटक॰ O—कर्णाटक॰ B. कर्णाटके देशे. १८ B—गव्यादीनां निक्षे॰ १९ B—चर्मोदकपात्रं C. गुर्ज्जरदेशे चर्मोदकं. O—॰चर्मोपानं.

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[१]पर्वतदेशे कलौ देवरेण सुतोत्पत्तौ(त्तिः) दुराचारः। [२]मैथिल-गौड-देशे सदातैललेपनं[३] दुराचारः। गौडदेशे वेदत्यागो[४] दुराचारः। कान्यकुब्जदेशे पण्यस्थ[५]घृतपक्कभक्षणं दुराचारः। विवाहादौ भोजनसमये परस्परस्पर्शनं दुराचारः[६]। उत्तरदेशे परस्त्री [गमनम्] दुराचारः। उत्कलदेशे मुखसुरतं दुराचारः। गौड-द्रविड-केरल-उत्कल-मैथिलेषु [७]पक्क-कलमतण्डुलभक्षणं दुराचारः। मगधे वर्णसङ्करणं[८] दुराचारः। चन्द्रावल्यां दासीगमनं दुराचारः। काश्मीरदेशीयाः द्विजाः केवलयवनप्रायाः खलु तेषां दुराचाराणां गणनैव नास्ति। सर्वेषां स्ववृत्तिं परित्यज्य अन्यवृत्त्यवलम्बनं कन्याद्यविक्रयाणां विक्रयकरणं पथि ताम्बूलभक्षणमित्यादि दुराचारविशेषः स्वभावत एव भवति[९]। स्वामिनः, महाराष्ट्रं विना सर्वासु [१०]जातिषु कश्चित्कश्चिद्दुराचारस्तिष्ठत्येव। महाराष्ट्रेष्वपि ये माध्वाः वर्तन्ते तेषां दुराचारस्य लेशोऽपि[११] न दृश्यते।"

"इदं तु त्वया सत्यमुक्तं मयाप्यनुभूतं वर्तते।"

"स्वामिनः, नो चेदनृतमुच्यते किम्। श्रीमतां कृपयां वयं सर्वं जानीमः सत्यम्।"

"अरे, तव गौडदेशे कानि कानि तीर्थानि वर्त्तन्ते।"

"स्वामिनः गङ्गासागरतीर्थं वर्त्तते, कुमारिकाक्षेत्रं[१२] वर्त्तते[१३]। ब्रह्मपुत्रस्तिष्ठति। कामरूपेश्वरस्तिष्ठति। कामाक्षी-देवी[१४] वर्त्तते। अतोऽप्यधिकानि बहूनि तीर्थानि [१५]बहून्यायतनानि वर्त्तन्ते।"

"एवम्, अन्यत्किं विशिष्टवस्तु जायते।"

"स्वामिनः, पट्टवस्त्राणि बहुविचित्राणि[१६] बहुमौल्यानि तत्र भवन्ति। क्षीरोदकसंज्ञानि दुकूलानि अतिसमीचीनानि जायन्ते[१७]। अन्यान्यपि रेश्मसम्भवानि चीराणि बहुविचित्राणि भवन्ति[१८]। स्वामिनः पृथिव्यां रेश्मोत्पत्तिस्तत्रैव जायते। अन्यानि[१९] तूलजातानि वस्त्राणि अतिसूक्ष्माणि भवन्ति। तथा सर्वाणि धान्यानि तत्र भवन्ति। व्रीहयो भवन्ति। गोधूमा भवन्ति। यवाः, चणकाः, आढक्यो,[२०] माषाः, मुद्गाः, मसूराः, राजमाषाः, कुलित्थाः, लङ्काः,[२१] तिलाः, खल्वाः, प्रियङ्गवः, एणवः,[२२] नीवाराः, श्यामाकाः,[२३] मण्डवाः,[२४] सर्षपास्त्रिविधाः भवन्ति[२५]। पृथुको अतिसमीचीनो जायते[२६]। स कथं पृथुकः—

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१ C—omits पर्वतदेशे....मिथलगौडदेशे...दुराचारः। and takes it after उत्कल etc.
२ O & B—मिथिल० ३ B—सदातैलस्नानं O—०तैलभक्षणं लेपनं० ४ C—adds अपि ५ O—अपर्णस्थ घृतभक्षणं C—पण्यस्थघृतभक्षणं ६ B—omits उत्कलदेशे...दुराचारः। ७ C—°पक्ककेलमेतंदुल. O—०पक्कमलतंदुल० ८ C—मगधदेशे वर्णसंकरो ९ O—स्वयमेव भवति. १० O and C—ज्ञातिषु ११ C—लवलेशोऽपि १२ B—गङ्गासरस्वतीतीर्थं etc. O—omits गङ्गा...वर्त्तते then, कुमारिकादेवी वर्त्तते। १३ C—adds कुमारिका देवी वर्तते १४ B and C—कामाक्षादेवी० १५ O—omits बहून्यायतनानि... upto अन्यत् in the next line.s १६ C—omit बहुविचित्राणि १७ C—दुकूलानि भवन्ति। समीचीना जायन्ते। १८ C—रेश्मसंभवानि समीचीनानि बहुविचित्राणि भवन्ति। B—रेश्मसं[भ]वानि चीनानि बहुविचित्राणि भवन्ति। O—रेश्मसंभवानि चिराणि बहुविधानि संति। १९ O—अन्यत्र तूलजानि २० C—यवाः भवंति। चणकाः भवंति। आढक्यो द्विजातीनि भवंति। माषाः द्विजातीयाः भवंति। मुद्गाः मसूराः etc. २१ C—लकाः २२ C—ऐणवः २३ C—श्यामकाः O—श्यामकाः २४ B and C—मंडवः O—मडवाः २५ O and B—omit भवन्ति. २६ O—पृथुकाः अतिसमीचीना जायन्ते।

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कीरतनूरुहपीतस्तरुणीकरकमलैरुपनीतः ।
पयसा शर्करया समुपेतः कर्षति कस्य जनस्य न चेतः ॥

[1]एतादृशाश्चिपिटकास्तत्रैव भवन्ति । शर्करा अतिशोभना जायते, सिताऽपि भवति[2] । गुडोऽपि भवति ।

दुग्धं समीचीनं जायते, दधि भवति, क्षौद्रं भवति,[3] घृतमतिसमीचीनं भवति । तैलानि बहुविधानि भवन्ति, तिलतैलं, सर्षपतैलं, अतसीतैलं, एरण्डतैलं, कुसुम्भतैलं[4] च जायते । नानाविधानि सुगन्धि तैलानि भवन्ति । नानाविधानि सुगन्ध(न्धि) अर्काणि भवन्ति[5] ।

बहुविधा शाखा भवन्ति । बहुविधा वृक्षा भवन्ति । आम्रवृक्षा[6] भवन्ति, पनसवृक्षा वर्तन्ते, नारिकेलितरवः, क्रमुकवृक्षाः,[7] बहुविधाः कदलीतरवश्च सन्ति । बदरीवृक्षाः जम्बूवृक्षाः[8] दाडिमीवृक्षा वर्तन्ते । कदम्बवृक्षाः बकुलभूरुहाः सन्ति । पारिजाततरवः[9] नागचम्पकाः अनेकजातीया निम्बूतरवः सन्ति पिचुमन्दवृक्षाः । नारङ्गगुल्माः भूचम्पकगुल्माः वर्तन्ते । कनकचम्पकगुल्माः सन्ति[10] । [11]सीताफलशाखिनः कपित्थवृक्षाः केतकीगुल्माः सन्ति । शमीवृक्षाः धातकीवृक्षाः[12] तिन्तिणीतरवः करमर्दगुल्माः[13] [14]भूपनशगुल्मास्तिष्ठन्ति । देवदारुतरवस्तिष्ठन्ति । शुष्कागरुतरवः कृष्णागरुतरवः न्यग्रोधवृक्षाः[15] सन्ति । अश्वत्थवृक्षाः वर्तन्ते[16] । शाल्मलीतरवः काञ्चनवृक्षाः सन्ति । बिल्ववृक्षाः सन्ति । मधूकवृक्षाः वर्तन्ते[17] । अशोकवृक्षाः सन्ति । औदुम्बरवृक्षाः वर्तन्ते । कर्मतरवः[18] सन्ति । तमालतरवः तालवृक्षाः शालवृक्षाः शालफलवृक्षाः सरलतरवः पुन्नागवृक्षाः अर्जुनवृक्षास्तिष्ठन्ति । वनबदर्यः केतकवृक्षाः विद्यन्ते[19] । धवखदिरशाखिनः कर्बूरवृक्षाः[20] पलाशतरवः बिभीतकवृक्षाः भल्लातकवृक्षाः भूर्जवृक्षाः अभयवृक्षाः सन्ति । कीचका वर्तन्ते । वेतसाः सन्ति । करञ्जकवृक्षास्सन्ति । गुग्गुलवृक्षा भवन्ति । चन्दनतरवः कदम्बवृक्षास्सप्तच्छदाः सन्ति । चारवृक्षाः अगस्तिवृक्षा[21] अक्षतरवः[22] सन्ति । वचनागतरवः वनस्पतयो बहुविधा भवन्ति । अपामार्गगुल्माः नागरङ्गगुल्माः[23] सन्ति । नागकेसरं जायते । भृङ्गराजतृणं

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१ B—एतादृशश्चपटक० २ B—omits शर्करा...भवति ३ C—दधिभवक्षौद्रो भवति. O—omits क्षौद्रं भवति...upto वृक्षा भवन्ति । ४ B—कुकुंभ० ५ O and B omit नानाविधानिसुगंध....अर्काणि भवन्ति । Is this a later interpolatoin ? ६ O omits from भवन्ति......पिचुमन्दवृक्षाः । It reads आम्रवृक्षाः जम्बुवृक्षाः नारंगगुल्माः etc. C omits भवन्ति only. ७ C—क्रमुकाः. ८ C—जंबूफलतरवः. ९ C—चंपकवृक्षाः त्रिविधाः संति । बहुविधाः नानातरवानि बहुतरवः संति पिचुमंदवृक्षाः संति । १० References to भूचम्पक and कनकचम्पकगुल्माः omitted in C. ११ B and C—शीताफल० १२ B and C—धात्रीवृक्षाः १३ B—कर्वदगुल्माः C—करगुल्माः. १४ C—भूपलाश. O—भूपणश. १५ B adds here तमालतरवः but they figure after कर्मतरवः below in C and O. C adds here—चंदनवृक्षाः औदुंबरवृक्षाः रक्तचंदनतरवः, शु कागरुतरवः कृष्णागरुतरवः. Omitted in B and O but B and O give औदुंबरवृक्षाः below. I have omitted चंदनवृक्षाः and रक्तचंदनवृक्षाः from the text above. १६ B—सन्ति. १७ B omits शाल्मलीतरवः.....मधुकवृक्षाः वर्तन्ते. The order of the different trees is different in B, O and C. १८ B—चर्मतरवः. १९ C—बदरीवृक्षाः केतकवृक्षाः etc. B— वनबदर्यः तेटुकवृक्षाः etc. २० B and C—बर्बुरवृक्षाः. २१ Omitted by O. २२ B—माक्षर(?)तरवः. C—प्रक्षतरवः. ३ O and C omit नागरंगगुल्माः.

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जायते । बृहतीगुल्माः भवन्ति । अर्कधत्तूरगुल्माः[१] मुचुकुन्दगुल्माः[२] । बर्बरी-ब्राह्मी-मुण्डी-दूर्वा-तृणं भवति । अपराजिताऽस्ति । पुनर्नवा वर्तते । विजयागुल्मा भवन्ति । रुदन्तीवाचस्पतिर्विद्यते ।

अथ लताविशेषाः—माधवीलता, मालतीलता, आकाशवल्ली, [३]मरीचलता, पिप्पलीलता, गुडूची, नागदमनलता, गुञ्जालता वर्त्तन्ते । नागवल्लीलता[४] विद्यते । सेवन्तिकागुल्मा भवन्ति । वासन्तिका, कुन्दपुष्पाणि,[५] करवीरकुसुमानि, असनपुष्पाणि, पाटलीकुसुमानि, मन्दारपुष्पाणि, जातीकुसुमानि, मल्लिकापुष्पाणि विद्यन्ते । बन्धूकपुष्पाणि, सिन्दूरकुसुमानि, [६]माचीकुसुमानि तुलसीगुल्माः, मारुगुल्मानि[७] भवन्ति । इक्षवो भवन्ति । अपस्मारेक्षवो भवन्ति[८] । कुशाः विद्यन्ते । काशाः विद्यन्ते[९] । शरा विद्यन्ते । श्वेतदूर्वा विद्यन्ते । विष्णुकान्तं तृणमस्ति । अतोप्यधिका वनस्पतिविशेषा बहवस्तिष्ठन्ति ।

नद्यो बहवतिष्ठन्ति । पूर्वसमुद्रोऽस्ति । भागीरथी वर्त्तते । अन्यानि बहुविधानि सरांसि विद्यन्ते । पुष्करिण्यः[१०] सन्ति । तासु बहुविधानि सरोरुहाणि[११] भवन्ति । कुमुदानि बहुविधानि जायन्ते । तत्र बहुविधाः पक्षिजातयः सन्ति । नीलपतत्रिणः[१२] सन्ति । हंसा विद्यन्ते । बकाः[१३] विद्यन्ते । वायसा विद्यन्ते । पिकाः विद्यन्ते । मयूराः सन्ति । चातकाः सन्ति । चक्रवाकाः सन्ति । खञ्जनाः सन्ति । शुका विद्यन्ते सारिका विद्यन्ते । चकोराः सन्ति । जलकुक्कुटाः[१४] विद्यन्ते । कोयष्टयः सन्ति । दात्यूहाः सन्ति हरिताः सन्ति[१५] भृङ्गराजाः सन्ति कारण्डपक्षिणः[१६] सन्ति । गृध्राः सन्ति । चाषाः सन्ति । पिङ्गलाः सन्ति । पारावताः सन्ति[१७] । सारसाः सन्ति । उलूकाः विद्यन्ते । वागुरिण्यः सन्ति । टिट्टिभाः[१८] सन्ति ।

तथा बहुविधानि श्वापदानि विद्यन्ते—व्याघ्राः सन्ति, वनमहिषाः सन्ति, वृकाः सन्ति, जम्बूकाः सन्ति, वराहाः सन्ति, गोमायवः सन्ति, खड्गमृगाः सन्ति, [१९]चमर्यः सन्ति, भल्लूकाः सन्ति, मयूराः सन्ति,[२०] मर्कटाः सन्ति, [२१]श्वानः सन्ति । तथा ग्राम्यपशवः-गावः सन्ति, महिष्यः सन्ति, अजाः सन्ति, एडकाः सन्ति, मेषाः सन्ति, उष्ट्राः सन्ति, गजाः सन्ति, अश्वाः सन्ति । खेचराणि सन्ति । रासभाः सन्ति । मार्जाराः सन्ति । मूषका विद्यन्ते । नकुलाः सन्ति, सर्पाः सन्ति, भेकाः सन्ति । छुछुन्दर्यस्तिष्ठन्ति । शरठाः सन्ति । पल्याः[२२] सन्ति । वृश्चिका विद्यन्ते । मक्षिकाः सन्ति । मशकाः सन्ति । मत्कुणा[२३] विद्यन्ते । क्षुद्राः सन्ति । पतङ्गाः सन्ति । भ्रमराः सन्ति । पिपीलिकाः सन्ति । अतोऽप्यधिकाः बहुविधा जन्तवस्तिष्ठन्ति ।

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१ O—omits नागकेसरं......अर्कधतूरगुल्मा:. C—अर्कधत्तूरगुल्मानि द्विविधानि भवन्ति । २ C—मुचुकुंदतुलसी । B—मुचुकुंद:. ३ B and C—मारीचलता:. ४ O—गजवल्ली० ५ O and C—कन्दपुष्पाणि. ६ O—मारी० ७ C—दमनगुल्मा: मरुगुल्मा: भवन्ति । B omits. O—मारु० ८ O—omits. ९ B omits. १० O—पुष्करीराय:. ११ C—omits the word सरोरुहाणि, but adds after भवन्ति, इंदीवराणि जायन्ते । १२ O—नीरपतत्रिण: C--तीरपतत्रिण: १३ C—कंका० १४ C—जलकुर्कुटानि० B—जलकुक्कुरानि० १५ O—omits दात्यूहा....हरिता: सन्ति. १६ C—कारंजपक्षिण: १७ O—omits गृध्रा...चाषा...पिङ्गला...पारावता: सन्ति. १८ O and C—टिटिभा: १९ C—adds मृगा:सन्ति B—च मृगा (मृगा:) सन्ति. २० O & B omits. २१ B—omits. २२ C—पल्य: २३ O—मुरकुटा. B—कुत्कुणा.

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अथ जलजन्तवः ।—बहुविधा मत्स्याः सन्ति, शफर्यः सन्ति,[१] कूर्म्मा विद्यन्ते । नक्राः विद्यन्ते । जलसर्पाः सन्ति । जलवृश्चिकाः सन्ति । कर्कटा विद्यन्ते । जलौका विद्यन्ते । जलमूषका विद्यन्ते । एभ्योऽपि बहुविधाः जलजन्तवस्तिष्ठन्ति । नौविशेषाः बहवः सन्ति । [२]नौचारिणः बहुकुशलाः वर्त्तन्ते[३] । कैवर्त्तकाः बहवः सन्ति । नौव्यवसायिनः बहवो वर्त्तन्ते ।

बहुविधा जनाः वर्त्तन्ते—ब्राह्मणाः वर्त्तन्ते, क्षत्रियाः वर्त्तन्ते, वैश्याः सन्ति, शूद्राः वर्त्तन्ते । **गुर्जरा** वर्त्तन्ते । **आन्ध्रा**स्तिष्ठन्ति । **कर्णाटका** वर्त्तन्ते । **द्रविडा** वर्त्तन्ते । **महाराष्ट्रा**स्तिष्ठन्ति ।

चित्तपावनाः सन्ति । **काण्वाः**[४] सन्ति । **माध्यन्दिनाः** सन्ति । **जैनाः** सन्ति । **कान्यकुब्जाः** सन्ति । **सारस्वताः** सन्ति । **माथुरा** वर्त्तन्ते । **पाञ्चालाः**[५] वर्त्तन्ते । **मरुजाः** सन्ति । [६]**मागधीयाः** सन्ति । **मैथिलाः** सन्ति । **पार्वतीयाः** सन्ति । **त्रिहूतनाः** सन्ति । **गौडानां** देश एव तु । **उत्कलाः** वर्तन्ते । **काशीस्था** वर्तन्ते । **गयापालकाः** वसन्ति[७] । **प्रयागपालकाः** अपि गच्छन्ति ।

अन्ये नीचजातीया वर्त्तन्ते । नापिताः[८] सन्ति । रजकाः सन्ति । कुलालाः वर्त्तन्ते । शिल्पिनः सन्ति[९] । वणिजस्तिष्ठन्ति । पटकाराः[१०] सन्ति । मागधाः सन्ति । अन्ये पण्यजीविनो[११] बहवः सन्ति । यवनाः प्रवर्त्तन्ते । चण्डालाः वर्त्तन्ते । वंशस्फोटकाः वर्त्तन्ते । धीवराः सन्ति । वनेचराः[१२] सन्ति । व्याधाः वर्त्तन्ते । कुसुमोपजीविनः[१३] सन्ति । जटिलाः[१४] वर्त्तन्तें । तापसाः सन्ति वैरागिणः सन्ति । भैरवोपासकाः[१५] सन्ति । नटाः सन्ति । नर्त्तकाः सन्ति । वेश्याः[१६] सन्ति । वेश्योपजीविनः सन्ति । मन्त्रिकाः सन्ति[१७] । व्यवसायिनो बहवस्तिष्ठन्ति । धनिका बहवो वर्त्तन्ते । वैद्याः सन्ति । ज्योतिर्विदः सन्ति । एवंविधा सर्वजातीया जनास्तत्र वसन्ति[१८] । स्वामिनः, भूरि किं वक्तव्यं, पृथिव्यां ये विशिष्टाः पदार्थाः वर्त्तन्ते ते सर्वे तत्र विद्यन्ते । ”

“ एवं वा तर्हि अतिसमीचीनो देशस्तिष्ठति । तर्हि मयाऽपि एकवारं गन्तव्यम् । अत्र गङ्गासागरे स्नानं विधाय, अग्रे पुरुषोत्तमस्य दर्शनं कृत्वाऽऽगन्तव्यम् । चातुर्मास्यं विधाय गमिष्यामि ।”

“ तर्हि गन्तव्यं स्वामिनः, सर्वं द्रष्टव्यम् । ”

‘ भवतु ’ इत्युक्ते सति भूयः यजमान उवाच —

“ स्वामिनः भवतां पूर्वाश्रमे को वा ग्रामः । ”

“ **अरे, पूर्वाश्रमे अस्माकं कर्नाटकदेशे चंजीग्रामः**[१९] । ”

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१ O omits शफर्यः सन्ति. २ B omits नौचारिणः......कैवर्तकाः सन्ति. ३ O adds बहुविधाः जनाः वर्त्तन्ते, obviously from below. ४ O and C—काणवाः B—कान्नवाः. ५ C and B—पाश्चात्याः. ६ B omits मागधीयाः....त्रिहूतनाः सन्ति । ७ C reads for प्रयागपालकाः etc., गयापालकाः तत्र गच्छन्ति । गंगापुत्राः तत्र आगच्छन्ति. ८ O—नापिताः. ९ O adds गुयापालिकठः before शिल्पिनः, obviously a scribal error of rewriting गयापालकाः of the line above. C—adds after शिल्पिनः सन्ति—चित्रकारिणस्तिष्ठंति, जंतुपाला वर्त्तते । स्वर्णशिल्पिनः अयसशिल्पिनः and before वणिजस्तिष्ठंति । १० O—पठुकाराः, C—पट्टुकाराः ११ O—अन्योपजीविप्रो बहवः C—अन्येप्यजीविनो. १२ C—वनेचराः १३ O—कुसुंभोपजीविनः B—कोसुमोप० १४ O—वदिलाः १५ C—भैरवपालकाः १६ C—कुटलाः O—वैश्याः १७ B—omits. १८ B—omits एवंविधा etc. १९ O—चंदि० C—**वीजापूर०**

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"एवं तर्हि पूर्वाश्रमे श्रीमतां का वा वृत्तिः स्थिता, भिक्षुकवृत्तिः स्थिता वा[१] व्यवसायवृत्तिः स्थिता।"

"अरे तत्किमपि मा पृच्छ। तत्किमपि वक्तुम् नोत्सहेऽहम्।"

"न हि स्वामिनः मम श्रोतुमिच्छा वर्त्तते। श्राव्यमेव।

"अरे, मया पूर्वाश्रमे व्यवसायवृत्या स्थितम्। यदा **दिल्लीश्वरस्य[२] अमात्यः असत्खान[३]** इति। **तस्य पुत्रः जुलुफकारखानः[४]। स यदा दिग्विजयार्थमागतस्तदा तस्य निकटे मया भूरि दिवसपर्यन्तं व्यवसितम्[५]।** तदा अस्माकं निकटे सहस्रद्वयमश्वचाराः स्थिताः। दशसहस्रपादचाराः स्थिताः। चत्वारिंशद्दन्तिनः स्थिताः। बहवो उष्ट्राः स्थिताः[६]। बहवो रथाः स्थिताः। तदा मद्गृहे चतस्रः पल्यङ्क्यः[७] स्थिताः। कतिशो भारवाहकाः शकटाः स्थिताः। पूर्वमस्माकं गृहे षोडश दास्यः अतिसुन्दर्यः स्थिताः। तासां लावण्यं वर्णितुं न शक्नुमः[८]। तादृशीः मम गृहिण्यः अपि नासीत्। ताः सर्वाः मम सेवायां अतितत्पराः स्थिताः। तासु एका अतिशोभना स्थिता। तस्याः गुणाः सौन्दर्यं किं वर्णनीयम्। केवलमपरा देवाङ्गनेव स्थिता। तस्यां मम रुचिरतीव स्थिता। मां विना तस्या अपि मनः कुत्राऽपि न गतम्।

अरे पूर्वं मम निकटे कतिशो वाराङ्गनाः स्थिताः। ताः मम बाहूनामन्तिके सदैव आसन्। तास्वपि एका अतीव लावण्यवती स्थिता। तस्यामतीव कौशल्यं स्थितम्। तस्याः कण्ठस्य माधुर्यं नृत्यगीतादिकं तथा आलापाभिनयाँश्चैव वर्णितुं नैव शक्यते। अधुनाऽपि यदा तस्याः स्मरणं जायते तदा मम मनः कुत्राऽपि न लगति। तत्किं वक्तव्यं यज्जातं यद्गतं स्वप्नवत्स्मरणम्।

अरे पूर्वं मद्गृहे प्रत्यहं शतशः ब्राह्मणाः भोक्तारः स्थिताः। तैः साकं मया मुहूर्त्ताभ्यन्तरमेव भोक्तव्यम्। तथैव बहवो अन्नार्थिनः। तथैव वस्त्रार्थिनः[९]। तथा कतिशो याचकाः। अन्येऽपि ये ये अर्थिनः मां प्रति आगतास्तेषां सर्वेषां मनोवांछितं मया दत्तम्। मम प्रभुतायां सत्यां मत्सकाशात्कोऽपि निराशतया नाऽगमत्। पूर्वं मे तादृशी[१०] विभूतिः स्थिता। अधुना अनुभूतमपि तत्सर्वं स्वप्नप्रायं भासते। तस्य स्मरणे महती व्यथा जायते।"

"तर्हि स्वामिनः पूर्वमेतादृशं वैभवं स्थितम्। सहसा तत्सर्वं कुत्र गतम्। तत्र किं कारणं जातम्।"

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१ C—omits भिक्षु......वा. B—omits भिक्षुक......व्यवसायवृत्तिः स्थिता. २ C—इन्द्रप्रस्थेश्वरस्य. O—दिल्लीधरस्य ३ B—असतवान C—असतवात. ४ C—जुलुफदारखार O—जुलुपगारखान ५ O—विसृतं B—व्यवयितं. ६ O—omits ७ O—पल्यक्य: C—पल्यंकः ८ C adds after this:—सा कथंभूता। पद्मनेत्रद्वयं, यस्याः वक्त्रं चेन्द्रोपमं शुभम्। स्मरपा (?) शोभौ (स्मरोपमशुभौ ?) कर्णौ, कप(पा)लौ चन्द्रकोज्वलौ, नासिका तिलपुष्पाभा, कामचापोपमौ भ्रुवौ। दशनाः हीरकैस्तुल्याः। द्विडुमो (दाडिमो)पमितधरा(मितौ अधरौ)। मयूरस्य कलापेन तुल्यं कचनिबन्धनं शंखरेखात्रयेणाऽपि कंठदेश (शो) विराजते। स्वल्पकं मध्यदेशं च मुष्टिग्राह्यं तु केवलम्। नाभिमंडलमध्यस्थं लावण्यं केन गृह्यते॥ रंभोपमौ उरूजंघे भुजौ कमंडल(कमल)दंडकौ। चरणं स्थलकमलाभं मणिमंडितनूपुरं। इत्यादि मम गृहिणीपि नासीत। C—seems to be later than both B and O as it reads त्रीजापूरग्रामः for चंजी above. As both B and O omit this passage, the passage may be a later addition. ९ B omits. १० C—पूर्वं एतादृशी.

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" अरे श्रुणु । मया कस्मिंश्चिद्दिने योषिद्भिः सह रहसि सौधान्तरे स्थितम् । तस्मिन्काले मम प्रभुणा आकारितम् । द्विवारं दूतः प्रेषितः । मया [1]सौन्दर्यवशात्सुखोत्पत्तिं त्यक्त्वा न गतम् । तदा भूयोऽपि अनुचरः प्रेषितः । तथाऽपि मया न गतम् । इति कारणात्सः अतीव क्रुद्धः । तेन अकस्मात् एकसमयावच्छेदेन सहस्रचतुष्टयाश्वचाराणां सेनानीः प्रेषितः[2] । तदा ममानुयायिनः असन्नद्धाः[3] स्थिताः । तदा तेन घटिकाद्वयाभ्यन्तरं सर्वं लुण्ठितम् । मामपि गृहीत्वा चतुर्भुजं विधाय[4] नीतम् । तदा प्रभुणा अतीव निर्भर्त्सितम् । मासचतुष्टयपर्यन्तं तस्य कारागृहे स्थितम् । पश्चाच्छृंङ्खलामोचनं जातम् । तद्दिनादारभ्य मम मनसि अतीव अनुतापो जातः । तदा अहं सर्वं कुटुम्बादिकं त्यक्त्वा कुरुक्षेत्रं गतः तत्र कियद्दिनपर्यन्तं तपोऽनुष्ठितम् । तत्रैव संन्यासो गृहीतः । पश्चादिहागतम् । "

" तर्हि स्वामिनः, श्रीमतां तुर्याश्रमं गृहीत्वा कतिवर्षाणि जातानि । "

" अरे मम द्वादशवर्षाणि[5] जातानि । एतावद्दिनपर्यन्तं मया तीर्थाटनं कृतम् । साम्प्रतं मासचतुष्टयं जातमिहागत्य । अधुना सर्वं त्यक्त्वा मणिकर्णिकां सेवयामि । "

" एवं तर्हि सम्यक् क्रियते स्वामिनः ।

विश्वेश्वरसमो देवः क्षेत्रं वाराणसीसमम् ।
मणिकर्णिकासमं तीर्थं नास्ति ब्रह्माण्डगोलके ॥

एवमुक्तं वर्त्तते इति कृत्वा भवत्सदृशामेतादृशं क्षेत्रं विहाय अन्यत्र वासोऽनुचितः । "

" सत्यमुच्यते त्वया । ममाऽपि मनसि एवमेव वर्त्तते । कुत :—

असारे खलु संसारे सारमेतच्चतुष्टयम् ।
काशीवासः[6] सतां सङ्गो गङ्गाम्भः शम्भुपूजनम्[7] ॥

एतादृशं स्थलं विहाय अन्यत्र गन्तुमुचितं वा नहि । "

" स्वामिनः सत्यम् " इत्युक्ते सति स्वामिन ऊचुः —

" अरे मया अतः परं मठं प्रति गम्यते । ममाऽद्य भूरि कालक्षेपो जातः । गीतापाठोऽपि न कृतः ।[8] मम अनुष्ठानस्य समयो जातः अतः परं गन्तव्यमेव । "

इत्युक्त्वा स्वामिनः उत्थिताः । तदा यजमानेन स्वामिनां साष्टाङ्गं प्रणामं विधाय यतिवर्यैस्सह कतिचित्पदानि गतम् ।[9] ईषद्दूरं गत्वा स्वामिनो[10] विज्ञापितवान्—

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१ C—सौकर्यवशात्. O—सौकार्यवशात्. २ O—॰सहस्रचतुष्टयाश्वचराणां सेना प्रेषिता । ३ B and O—सन्नद्धाः. O omits मम. ४ C—ममापि गृहीत्वा चतुर्भुजं विधाय॰ B—मामपि गृहीत्वा भुजबन्धनं विधाय॰ ५ C—॰द्वादशचातुर्मास्यानि मम जातानि । ६ C—काश्यां वासः. ७ C—शिवपूजनं. ८ C adds here—**सप्तशती**पाठोपि न कृतः । **विष्णुस्तवराज**पाठोपि न कृतः । **विष्णुसहस्रनामस्य** पाठोपि न कृतः । **गजेन्द्रमोक्षस्य** पाठोपि न कृतः । **भीष्मस्तवराज**पाठोपि न कृतः । The passage, like the description of female beauty given by C above, may be a later interpolation. The passage is omitted by both B and O. ९ C—तदा यजमानः....गच्छति । १० C and O—स्वामिनां.

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" स्वामिनः, अद्य[१] भूरि श्रमितम् । अतीवकालो[२] जातः । क्षन्तव्यम् स्वामिनः । "

" नारायण नारायण, इदं किमुच्यते । एतादृशं भिक्षासौकर्यं कुत्राऽपि न भविष्यति । एतादशी भक्तिः कस्याऽपि न स्यात्[३] ।

यादृशी भावना यस्य [४]सिद्धिर्भवति तादृशी । "

" स्वामिनः सर्वं श्रीमतां प्रसादात् । अतः परं शनैः शनैः गन्तव्यम् । "

इत्युक्ते सति स्वामिभिरनुज्ञातः सन् पश्चान्निवृत्तः । तदा स्वामिनः कमण्डलुं कुत्रचिन्निक्षिप्य दण्डयष्टिमवलम्ब्य शनैः शनैरतिकष्टेन स्वमठं प्रति गताः[५] । मठं गत्वा शिष्यं प्रति ऊचुः—

" अरे मेषाश्रम, त्वं शीघ्रमुत्तिष्ठ । तूर्णमास्तरणं विधेहि । "

अथ तेनोच्यते—" स्वामिनः अनुष्ठानस्य समयो जातः । इदानीं निद्रा कथं विधीयते ।

" अरे त्वं तूष्णीमास्तरणं विधेहि । एकं व्यजनमा[६](वीजनमा)र्द्रीकृत्य मां वीजय । शरीरे अतीव दाहो जायते । "

" तर्हि, स्वामिनः अद्य किं किं भुक्तम् । "

" अरे अधुना किमपि मा पृच्छ । पश्चाद्वक्ष्यामि । अधुना वक्तुं न शक्यते । स्थातुमपि न शक्यते । "

एवमुक्त्वा स्वामिषु शयितेषु सत्सु ततः यजमानः किमाचरितवान्तदाह । यजमानः पुनस्त्रियमुवाच—

" अयि शृणोषि । अद्य त्वमपि श्रमिताऽसि । अहमपि श्रमितोऽस्मि इति कृत्वा अद्य अट्टालोपरि[७] तूर्णं शय्यां विरचय । सर्वानर्भकान्स्वापयित्वा[८] त्वमपि शीघ्रमुपरि आगच्छ । आदौ मम सन्ध्यावन्दनार्थमुदकं देहि । "

इत्युक्ते सति तया एवमेव कृतम् । सन्ध्यार्थमुदकं दत्तम् । तस्मिन्सन्ध्यामनुष्ठितवति सति शीघ्रमुपरि गत्वा पर्यङ्कोपरि[९] आस्तरणमास्तृतं[१०] तदुपरि मल्लिकाकुसुमानि विकीर्य तदुपरि अतिशुभ्रं चीनांशुकमास्तीर्य शिरोदेशे कण्डुद्वयं[११] संस्थाप्य पर्यङ्कस्याधोदेशे ताम्बूलसाधनादिकं सर्वं निक्षिप्य स्वामिनः समर्पयत्[१२] । तदा सः सन्ध्यां विधाय उपरि गतः[१३] । पर्यङ्कोपरि उपविश्य स्त्रियमाकारितवान् ।

" अये त्वं शीघ्रमुपरि आगच्छ । अधः किं करोषि । "

इत्युक्ते सति सा अपत्यादीन्यथास्थानं स्थापयित्वा स्वयमुपरि आगता । तदा सः तां निरीक्ष्य

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१ O—अति. २ O and C—अतिकालो. ३ C—भक्तिरपि० B—omits कस्यापि. ४ C—बुद्धिर्भवति० ५ O omits तदा स्वामिनः.... गताः । B—०दंडमप्यवलंब्य० B—मठं प्रति गतः । ६ O—व्यंजन० B—विजयमार्द्री० C—व्यजन० ७ C—अट्टालीकोपरि. ८ C—सर्वानर्भकान् अधः स्थापय त्वमपि शीघ्रमु० O—सर्वानर्भकान् अधः स्थापयित्वा० ९ C—पल्यंकोपरि. १० O—आस्तीर्णमास्तृतं. B—पर्यंकोपरि आस्तरयामास. ११ C—कटुकद्वयं. B—गेडुकद्वयं. १२ B—स्वामिनमाख्यात. C—स्वामिनमाख्यत्. १३ B—आगतः.

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सविलासमुवाच—

" पानीयं पातुमिच्छामि त्वत्तः कमललोचने ।
यदि दास्यसि नेच्छामि नो दास्यसि पिबाम्यहम् ॥[१] "

इति श्रुत्वा तया उदकं दत्तम् । तेन जलं पीत्वा पुनरुक्तं—

" पर्णानि स्वर्णवर्णानि कर्णान्तायतलोचने ।
चूर्णमानीयतां तूर्णं पूर्णचन्द्रनिभानने "[२] ॥

इत्युक्ते सति तया सोपस्कृता ताम्बूलवीटिका दत्ता । तदा तेन तस्याः पाणिमवलम्ब्य तां क्रोडे उपावेशयत् । ततस्तां दोर्भ्यामुपगूह्य[३] तस्या वदनं चुचुम्ब । ततस्तावुभौ तदूर्ध्वं उत्तरक्रीडां चक्राते[४] ।

[इति] [५]श्रीरङ्गभट्टसुत धुण्डिकवीश्वरेण [विरचिता] गीर्वाणशब्दमञ्जरी [।] समाप्तेऽयं गीर्वाणपदमञ्जरी ॥ ॥ श्री ॥ विश्वेश्वरप्रसन्न ॥

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१ C adds—अन्यच्च ।

स्वच्छं सज्जनचित्तवल्लघुतरं दीनार्तिवत् शीतलं
पुत्रालिंगनवत्तथैव मधुरं बालस्य संजल्पवत् ।
एलोशीरलवंगचंदनलसत्कर्पूरकस्तूरिका—
जातीचंपकपाटलात्यु(भि)रसितं पानीयमानीयताम् ॥

२ C adds—तद्यथा

नालाकारपयोधरे तनुभवत्तंत्राधिकारक्रिये
नाभ्य(भि)मध्यतले तडित्समरुचे तत्री(तन्त्री)समालापिनी ।
ताटंका नितरां कृताक्षियुगले तन्वंगि ताम्रो(म्रा)धरे
तारानाथनिभानने तव करा(रात्) तांबूलमानीयताम् ॥

३ O—॰मुपगृह्य.

४ B—चक्रे ।

५ C—॥ इति भाषामंजरि समाप्ता ॥ श्री ॥ श्री ॥ श्री ॥ श्री ॥ श्री ॥ श्री ॥
B—श्री रंगभट्टसुत धुंटिकवीश्वरेण गीर्वाणपदमंजरी सादरेण नीता संपूर्णं ॥ * ॥ श्री ॥

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INTRODUCTION

Two small texts are published here as M. S. University Oriental Series No. 4. They are the *Gīrvāṇapadamañjarī* (henceforth referred to as *GPM.*) of Varadarāja and the *Gīrvāṇavāṅmañjarī* (referred to as *GVM.*) of Dhuṇḍirāja, both composed with a view to teach Sanskrit by Direct Method. As Dhuṇḍirāja puts it, he composed the work for *bālānām sukhabodhāya*, and adds that knowledge of *śabda*, *liṅga*, *vibhakti*, etc., and of *kartṛ*, *karma*, *kriyāpada*, *avyaya*, as well as of names of different objects and beings etc., can be imparted through this work. It is composed in the form of dialogues (*ukti-pratyuktibhih*) and is not devoid of wit and humour (GVM. v. 5). We are reminded here of the *Uktī-Vyakti-prakaraṇa* of Pandit Dāmodara[1] of Banaras, composed in c. 1150 A.D. It may be noted that in both GPM. and GVM. the scene is laid in Banaras. Thus it may be surmised that all the three texts preserve for us the direct method of teaching Sanskrit in Banaras, the great centre of Hindu culture and Sanskrit learning.

The Ukti-Vyakti-prakaraṇa refers to the old Kośalī dialect spoken in the twelfth century. Even though these two works do not refer to words from any local dialect they are however more interesting in reading as short stories, and also contain much useful cultural data for Banaras and India of the seventeenth century A.D.

The text of the *Gīrvāṇapadamañjarī* is edited here from the following four manuscripts :

O.—Baroda, Collection of the Oriental Institute, M. S. University of Baroda, Register No. 9201. Extent, 13 folios, nine lines to a page. Size : 23.5 × 10.5 cm. No date. Characters of c. 19th century A.D. Paper. Carelessly written, cf., for example, स्वामिन: बुचु: । or, कति ब्राह्मगा: भोजनार्थं अरेया: etc. The text omitted by the scribe at the end of folio 10b is abruptly added at the end of f. 11a and again continued upto the end on folio 13b, omitting even half-words.

End :—कृता वर्दभट्टेन गीर्वाणपदमंजरी कृतं ।। श्री विश्वेश्वराय नम: ।।

C.—Baroda. Collection of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, No. 8012. Extent, 21 folios, six lines to a page. Size, 26 × 10 cm. Folios 1-5 missing. No date. Characters of c. first half of the 18th century A.D. Paper.

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1 *Ukti-Vyakti-Prakaraṇa*, ed. by Muni Jinavijaya, with Inroductions by Dr. S. K. Chaterji and Dr. Moti Chandra, Singhi Jaina Granthamala, Bombay (1953 A.D.).

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Nicely written in bold characters. Sometimes missing portion is added by another hand in margins. Occasional scribal errors like पक्षपात विना for पक्षपातं विना and so on.

End :—इति श्री गीर्वाणपदमंजरी समाप्तमिति ॥ शुभमस्तु ॥
॥ श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ श्रीरामचन्द्राय नमः ॥ ७ ॥

B.—Poona. Collections of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, No. 395 of 1899-1915 (new No. 22). Extent, 19 folios, nine lines to a page. Condition good, edges slightly worn out. Size: 20.6 × 12 cm. No date. Characters of c. early 19th cent. A.D. Paper.
Somewhat carelessly written, cf. for example, याह्यं for ग्राह्यं (f. 1b), तथा । ह । आदिपवणि for तथा हि आदिपर्वणि, and so on.
End :—इति श्री गीर्वाणपदमंजरी समाप्ता ॥ शुभमस्तु ॥ ७ ॥

The text begins on f. 1b. On folio 1a, however, the title is written in a different hand as: अथ बृहद्भाषामंजिरि प्रारंभः ॥

N.—Bikaner. Collections of Śrī Agarchand Nāhaṭā, Bikaner, Reg. No. 4734. Extent, 20 folios, eight lines to a page. Condition fair. Paper britle, edges mutilated. Red marginal lines. Size: 23 × 10.5 cm. Copied in Samvat 1736 = 1680 A.D. Paper. Writing fairly correct, occasional mistakes like आंब्रफलानि for आम्रफलानि (folio 12b).
End :—इति श्री गीर्वाणपदमंजरी समाप्तम् ॥ सं १७३६ वर्षे चैत्रशुक्लात् षष्ठी ६ लिखितं मधुक (? के ?)न ॥
The manuscript is important as it is fairly accurately written and dated. Besides, being written within about 25 to 40 years of its composition, it preserves a very reliable text.

The text of the *Gīrvāṇavāṅmañjarī* is prepared from the following three manuscripts:—

O.—Baroda. Collection of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, No. 13184. Extent, 14 folios. Size: 23.2 × 12 cm. 12 lines to a page. No date, Characters Devanagari of c. early 19th cent. A.D. Paper. Text begins on f. 1a. Last few verses written in three margins of folio 14b. Marginal lines drawn on a few folios. Writing fairly good. Occasional scribal errors showing careless writing, *e.g.* आपत्यानि for अपत्यानि on folio 9b, यथेछं for यथेच्छं, निवाराः for नीवाराः, प्रयागपतल्का for प्रयागपाल्काः and so on. Sometimes श is used for स as in वाराणशी for वाराणसी.

End :—श्रीरंगभट्टपुत धुंढिकवीश्वरेण गिर्वाणशब्दमंजिरी समाप्तोयं गिर्वाणपदमंजीरी ॥ श्रीः विश्वेश्वरप्रसन्न
A photostat copy of this ms. also exists in the Oriental Institute Collection, No. 13110.

C.—Baroda. Collection of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, No. 4371. Extent, 16 folios, eighteen lines per page, Size: 27.6 × 13.3 cm. No date. Characters Devanāgarī of c. late 19th cent. A.D. Paper. Bold but careless writing.

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Red marginal lines. This text seems to have been inflated. It seems that in the lists of flora, fauna, etc., the tendency to add more names seems to have started with a view to increase the vocabulary of the student. Thus sandal-wood tree, which is not so common in Bengal as in the South, is added in the list of trees of Bengal. Mss. O and B do not mention this tree, but C adds it. Again, additional lines and verses, relegated to the foot-note on pp. 35 and 38 of this printed text, are avaible only in C. But more conclusive proof about inflation of C is supplied by the fact that C alone puts in the mouth of the Sannayāsin – सप्तशतीपाठोपि न कृतः । विष्णुस्तवराजपाठोपि न कृतः । विष्णुसहस्रनामस्य पाठोपि न कृतः । गजेन्द्रमोक्षस्य पाठोपि न कृतः । भीष्मस्तवराजपाठोपि न कृतः । (printed text p. 36, ft. note 8).

Now it is not likely that Sannyasins in that age would have read these texts daily. Again on folio 12b (printed p. 34) this ms. reads बीजापूरग्रामः for चंजीग्रामः of the other manuscripts. Dr. Gode has shown that the original reading must be चंजीग्रामः ।

On folio 1a is written : भाषामंजरी ॥ जांनी गिरजाशंकरस्येदं पुस्तकं ॥ and the text begins on folio 1b.

End :—॥ इति भाषामंजरि समाप्ता ॥ श्री ॥ श्री ॥ श्री ॥ श्री ॥ श्री ॥

B.—Poona. Collection of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona., No. 345 of 1892 (new No. 16). Extent, folios 16. Size: 30 × 15 cm. No date. Characters Devanagari of c. 1800 A.D. Writing bold, somewhat carelessly written, *e.g.*, कारगृहे for कारागृहे. व is often used for ब as in वका: for बकाः. Again, such errors as कान्नवाः for काण्वाः, तत्का for त्यक्त्वा, रहागत्यं for इहागत्य (f. 13) are seen. Red marginal lines.

End :— श्रीरंगमदसुतधुंढिकवीश्वरेण गीर्वाणपदमंजरी सादरेण नीता संपूर्णं ॥ * ॥ श्री ॥

Manuscripts of both the works are not rare. They seem to have been popular in Northern and Western India within a century of their composition. Aufrecht in his Catalogus Catalogorum, p. 154, refers to two manuscripts of GPM.—one, no. 2167 from Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts, by Rajendralal Mitra, Vol. VI (Calcutta, 1882), and the other, no. 26 from Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts existing in Oudh, compiled by Pandit Deviprasad (1885). A manuscript of GPM. is also referred to in the India Office Catalogue, [2] and another exists in the Ujjain Mss. Library. [3]

A ms. of GVM. of Dhuṇḍhirāja Kavi is referred to as GPM. by Aufrecht, *op. cit.*, part 3, p. 33, from Peterson's Report, Vol. 5, 345. A ms. of GVM. also

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[2] *India Office Manuscripts Catalogue*, VII (1904), p. 1574, Ms. No. 4108. Miscalled श्रीसंस्कृतमञ्जरी at the end.

[3] *Catalogue of Ujjain Manuscripts* (1936), p. 41, Ms. No. 1081.

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exists in the India Office Library.[4] The Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona, possesses three mss. of the GVM.—No. 21 of 19:9-24 (this, like C. of Oriental Institute, Baroda, seems to be a later ms. as it reads बीजापुरग्राम for चंजीग्राम); Ms. No. 345 of 1892-95 (used here as B.); and ms. no. 13 of 1898-99 (this merely states कर्नाटकदेशग्राम: instead of mentioning बीजापुर or चंजी).

Both GPM. and GVM. have been discussed by Dr. P. K. Gode,[5] who fixed their dates, and quoted some important passages. In view of the fact that they contain interesting and valuable cultural data, and are good primers written in a simple but amusing style, I have edited them here. I am thankful to Dr. Gode for lending me the manuscripts from the collections of the B.O.R.I., Poona, as also to Shri Agarachand Nahata for lending me a dated ms. of the GPM. from his collections.

As shown by Gode, Varadarāja, the author of GPM., was a pupil of Bhaṭṭojī Dīkṣita. He appears to be a southerner, as his name Varadarāja suggests, and is to be distinguished from Varadarāja, the author of Vyavahāra-nirṇaya (composed before 1350 A.D.). Our author abridged the Siddhānta-kaumudī of Bhaṭṭojī Dikṣita and as he mentions Bhaṭṭojī's works like the Siddhāntakaumudī, with Prauḍhamanoramā and the Śabdakaustubha in the GPM., Varadarāja may be assigned to c. 1600-1650 A.D. Varadarāja does not record any biographical information about himself except the name of his father as *Durgātanaya* (son of Durgā) in the Sāra-Siddhāntakaumudī, and as suggested by Gode, the father's name may be Gaṇeśa (who is the son of Durgā) since, at the end of GPM, Varadarāja says – गीर्वाणपदमञ्जरी......गणेशप्रीतये भवेत्. The Madhya-Siddhāntakaumudī, and the Laghu-Siddhānatakaumudī referred to in the GPM., were also composed by Varadarāja and hence the GPM. is relatively later in age than the above two works.

Varadarāja shows intimate knowledge of the city of Banaras in the first half of the 17th century A.D. as is evident from the list of *Ghaṭṭas* (*Ghāṭs*) of Banaras on the banks of the Ganges, incidentally recorded in the GPM.

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4 *India Office Manuscripts Catalogue, VII* (1904), p. 1574, Ms. No. 4109—" This ms. is described as 'a collection of easy continuous sentences on ordinary domestic occurrences intended to serve as a primer and variously called भाषामञ्जरी, गीर्वाणवाग्मञ्जरी or गीर्वाणशब्दपदमञ्जरिका, compiled at Banaras by Dhuṇḍirāja, son of Śrī-raṅgabhaṭṭa.' " The Ms ends : श्रीरंगभट्टसुत-धुंडिकवीश्वरेण गीर्वाणशब्दपदमञ्जरिकारेण ।

नीतां समाप्तमिति तां विबुधाः सुधावत् दृष्टवा पिबन्तु सुरसां कृपयैव तावत् ॥

5 Gode, P. K., *An Echo of the Siege of Jinji in a Sanskrit Grammatical work—Studies in Indian Literary History*, Vol. III (Poona, 1956), pp. 161-171, and, *Varadarāja, a Pupil of Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita and his works—Between A.D. 1600 and 1650,—Studies in Indian Literary History*, Vol. II (Bombay, 1954), pp. 316-329.

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The GVM. of Dhuṇḍirāja is an imitation of the GPM., but not without interest. In both the works, the subject of conversation, which fills the entire work, consists mainly of the doings of a Brahmin householder of Banaras from morning till evening. As a literary composition, the GVM. is superior to the GPM. which latter abruptly ends when the Sannyāsin tells his guru that he had partaken of only that food which was suitable or permissible to him. The GPM. does not tell us anything about what the Brāhmaṇa householder did after the departure of the Sannyāsin. The GVM., which adds this part, ends in the climax of *śṛṅgāra*, with the happy union of the Brāhmaṇa householder and his wife—a romantic end (for a Brāhmaṇa on a *parva-day*) in a work which is professed to have been composed as a primer of Sanskrit for *bālas (bālānām sukhabodhāya)* !

In the GVM. the Brāhmaṇa householder gets up early in the morning and after toilet etc., he prepares to go out to the *Maṇikarṇikāghāṭa* for his morning bath, prayers etc. The GPM. begins rather abruptly. In the GVM., the householder, before going out for a bath, informs his wife that the day was an auspicious day (*parva*) when some Brahmaṇas and a Sannyāsin were to be invited for dinner. He instructs his son about some purchases to be made for the occasion, which gives us as insight into the different markets at Banaras in the end of seventeenth century A.D. The amusing conversation between the father and son, the husband and wife, as also the easily excitable nature of the householder are true to life and further give us an insight into the family life of the Brāhmaṇas in that age.

The Brāhmaṇa tells his son : अद्य गृहे महत्प्रयोजनं तिष्ठति । The use of the word *prayojana* in the sense of a dinner and a festival is typical of Mahārāṣṭra. This as well as the use of the word *karvanda* (modern Gujarati, *karamadān*) is also typical of Mahārāṣṭra. The author of GVM., Dhuḍirāja, seems to be a Mahārāṣṭrian. In the list of *durācāras*, the householder says : स्वामिनः महाराष्ट्रं विना सर्वासु जातिषु कश्चित्कश्चिद्दुराचारस्तिष्ठत्येव । महाराष्ट्रेष्वपि ये माध्वाः वर्तन्ते तेषां दुराचारस्य लेशोऽपि न दृश्यते. This shows that Dhuṇḍirāja, the author of the GVM. hailed probably from Mahārāṣṭra and that he was a follower of Madhva-ācārya.

The age of Dhuṇḍirāja is also discussed by Dr. Gode who assigns the GVM. to c. 1702-1704 A.D.[6] In the GVM. the Brāhmaṇa house-holder invites a Sannyāsin for dinner. After dinner they talk about various things. First, when members of the family of the host come to pay their respects to the Sannyāsin, the latter makes inquiries about the sons, daughters, wife etc., of the

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[6] Gode P. K., *An Echo of the Siege of Jinji in a Sanskrit Grammatical Work* published in *Studies In Indian Literary History*, vol. III (1956), pp. 161 ff., esp. p. 168.

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host. Here we get an insight into the conditions of the Brāhmaṇa society at Banaras, *e.g.*, the unhappy marriage of one daughter for which the Sannyāsin mildly rebukes the host. Then the host inquires about the *pūrvāśrama* (life before renunciation) of the Sannyāsin which the latter reluctantly narrates. In his early life, the Sannyāsin was a Brāhmaṇa grandee from Karnātaka, his native place being *Canjī-grāma* (variously called *Candry* or *Cindri* by Marathas, *Gingee* or *Jinji* by the French, *Cingee* or *Cengy* in early Madras records and *Gingee* by the English from the Tamil word *Senji* (once a celebrated hill fort, South Arcot district, 50 miles north of Cuddalore). [7] The emperor of Delhi had a minister named *Āsat Khān*, whose son *Zulfikār Khān* started on a military expedition and reached Karṇāṭaka. At this time this Brāhmaṇa (now a sannyāsin) was in his company for several days with 2000 horses, 10,000 servants, 40 elephants, and many camels and chariots. In his house, the Brahmin had four palanquins, several coolies and carts. He had sixteen maid-servants of unparalleled beauty and extremely devoted to his service. His own wife was not so beautiful as these maid-servants, one of whom was extremely lovely and to whom he was deeply attached. In his house hundreds of Brāhmaṇas were fed and no beggar was turned out without any gift. Once while this Brāhmaṇa was enjoying the company of young damsels, he was called by his master Zulfikār Khān, but in spite of repeated callings the grandee paid no heed to his master's orders. Enraged at this, the master immediately dispatched his commander with some horsemen and the grandee's followers were taken unawares. The grandee himself was hand-cuffed and brought before Zulfikār Khān who kept him in prison for four months. Released, the grandee, filled with remorse, went to Kurukṣetra, practised penance for some days, and then became a *sannyāsin.* Twelve years had passed since he became a monk. After wandering in different holy places *(tīrthas)* he had come to Banaras, four months before he was invited by the Brāhmaṇa householder for dinner.

As shown by Gode, " the story was too vivid to be idealised by our author by dropping references to Āsat Khān and his son Zulfikār Khān and their military expedition *(digvijaya)* to Karnataka on behalf of the Mogul Emperor (Aurangzeb) at Delhi. " It is well-known that Zulfikār Khān laid siege to the fort of Jinji (Gingee) for 6 or 7 years (1691-1697 A.D.), but it was a complete failure.[8] Calculating from this Dr. Gode has assigned the composition of the GVM. to c. 1702-1704 A.D.

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7 According to some manuscripts—*Bījāpur*.

8 *Madhyayugīna Caritrakośa* (Marāthī), p. 417 ; *Oxford History of India* (1928), p. 444. Rao Bahadur Shrinivasachari, *History of Gingee and its rulers*, pp. 286-350. For life of Āsat Khān (Asad Khan), see Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (London, 1894) p. 80.

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Dr. Gode writes, "Dhuṇḍirāja's work, as also Varadarāja's work of the same name, ought to be kept before the students of the cultural history of Banaras in the 17th century works which give us a peep into the cultural life of the Banaras Brahmins in the 17th century..., which produced celebrities like the Gāgābhaṭṭa, Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja, Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa and others."[9] I hope this edition of the two works will serve the above purpose.

Both the texts are written in a simple language, the main object being to acquaint a student with Sanskrit composition. It may be noted that all manuscripts use certain forms which were not in accordance with rules of grammar. For example, we find the use of forms like पर्यंवेवेषिषुः, पर्यंवेषिषु or पर्यंवेवेषिषु in manuscripts for the correct form पर्यंवेविषुः (p. 18 of the printed text), similarly cf. परिवेशिषे for परिविविषे (p. 25). In editing the texts, since they are originally meant for teaching Sanskrit, I have given the correct forms, the incorrect ones being given in foot-notes. Again, on p. 25, I have given the reading फेनिका for फेणिका of mss. O and C. But both might have been in use in spoken language. Similarly it is just possible that कथिका (p. 18) was also used for काथिका, or कर्वंद (p. 32, note 13) for करमर्द.

Let us now turn to the Cultural data supplied by these texts.

Religious, Social and Economic Conditions

Brāhmaṇas in Banaras got up early in the morning before day-break, recited hymns (*stotrādikam*, p. 19), eased themselves, washed their hands and feet with clay and water, cleansed teeth with a wooden brush, and then went to Maṇikarṇikā Ghāṭa on the Ganges for morning bath, taking with them a water-vessel (*jalapātram*—GPM., *agrodaka-pātram*—GVM.) possibly like a modern *jhārī* (in Gujarātī and Marāṭhī), and an *arghya-pātra* (GVM.) or a *khaḍga-pātra* (GPM.) for offering water. The *khaḍga-pātra* was possibly made of hide or horn (of a rhinoceros or a buffalo[10]) and Dr. Moti Chandra informs me that such vessels are still preserved with some old families of Banaras. Here since, since the GVM. uses the word *khaḍga-pātra* for the *arghya-pātra* of GPM. it would seem that the *khaḍga-pātra* might have been of the shape of an *arghya-pātra*. Copper vessel of the shape of an *arghya-pātra* is generally known as *khaḍga-pātra*. The brahmins also carried with them a *rudrākṣamālikā* (a rosary of berries of Elaeocarpus Ganitrus) a ball of sacred ashes (*vibhū-vaṭika* p. 20), *tilaka-sādhana* for making a *tilaka*—mark on the forehead), the box containing accessories for worship of gods (*devārcana-peṭikā*, p. 20), *kuśa*-grass, an upper (*uttarīya*) and a lower garment (p. 1), sesamum seeds and cocoanut (*tila-nārikelam*, p. 20),

[9] *Studies in Indian literary History*, Vol. III. p. 170.

[10] cf. Monier-Williams, Sanskrit-English Dictionary (Rev. ed., 1956), p. 335.

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and sandal-wood. On the *Maṇikarṇikā*, the Banaras Brahmin takes his morning bath after reciting the *Mahāprayoga*,[11] and performs his morning *sandhyā* (obligatory prayers, according to prescribed rules), followed by *Brahma-yajña* and *nivāpa-tarpaṇa.*[12] After this he worships the Lord with the *pūjā-dravyas* brought from home.

On *parva*-days, a brāhmaṇa householder invites a *sannyāsin* and some brāhmaṇas, including relatives, for dinner. After bath, he goes to a *maṭha* or monastery for *sannyāsins* to invite one sannyāsin. There were many such monasteries in Banaras, and sannyāsins from various provinces lived in one *maṭha*. In the GPM., the head of one such *maṭha* asks the Brāhmaṇa as to the sannyāsin the latter would like to invite. The Brāhmaṇa says that he would prefer a monk from *Karṇāṭaka.* Now this shows the preferences of the author of the GPM. whose name *Varadarāja* suggests that he hailed from the South, probably from Karṇāṭaka.[13] Similarly in the GVM. the sannyāsin invitee is glad to find that the Brāhmaṇa host was a Mahārāṣṭra-brāhmaṇa. Hence in this case the author of the GVM., Dhuṇḍirāja, seems to be a brāhmaṇa from Mahārāṣṭra. The householder in GVM. further states that both he and his father were born in Gauḍa-deśa. The names of both the father (अद्व्धव्रतप्रनतिर्वसिष्ठ भट्टाचार्य) and the son (झिलिमिलिझाङ्कार-शौचालङ्कार-अलर्षियुध्-मखजकृत्-पुरन्दर भट्टाचार्य) show the sense of humour of the author and his satire on the high-sounding names of Bengali Pandits. It is also interesting to note that in GPM. the high-sounding name of the householder (अलर्षियुध्-मखजकृत्-पुरन्दर-वाजपेयि) is very similar to the name of the Brāhmaṇa in GVM., and since the GVM. is later in age, it is obvious that the GVM. is written in imitation of the GPM.

As can be seen from the GPM., there were in one monastery, sannyāsins who were *Drāviḍas, i.e.,* who hailed from *Drāviḍa* country (Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam speaking areas, the land of the Ceras, Coḷas, Pāṇḍyas etc.), sannyāsins who were *Āndhras* (from Āndhra-deśa), *Kārṇāṭakas, Mahārāṣṭrās, Ābhīras, Gaurjaras, Gauḍas, Maithilas, Autkalas* (from *Utkala, Orissa*), *Kānyakubjas* and *Sārasvatas.* It is interesting to note the reference to *Ābhīras*[14] in this age. The

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[11] This is the same as *Hemādriprayoga*, the long *saṅkalpa* to be recited before taking bath in a sacred river at a holy place.

[12] For the *snāna-vidhi, Brahma-yajña* and *tarpaṇa* or *nivāpa* see Kane, P.V., *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. II. 2., pp. 656ff.

[13] Also see, Gode, P. K., *Studies in Indian Literary History*, Vol. II, p. 325.

[14] In Akbar's age, there was an Ahirwārah district in the Sarkār of Chanādah (Chenār) in Allahabad Subah, *Ain-ī-Akbarī*, transl. (Calcutta, 1949) Vol. II, p. 176; for Āhirs in Soraṭh see *op. cit*, pp. 254f. For *Ābhīras*, also cf. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 221-3. *Ābhīras* are in Aparānta or W. India;

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Ābhīra country in this age probably indicated the districts in Saurāṣṭra, Rājasthān, Bikāner etc. where Āhirs or Ābhīras are numerous, or the Ahirwāḍa between the Pārvatī and the Beṭwā rivers in Madhya Bharata. But it is better to regard *Ābhīras, Gauḍās Kānyakubjas* and *Sārasvatas* as referring to castes rather than to people hailing from specific countries, though it is possible to do so in the case of *Kānyakubjās, Maithilas, Gauḍas, etc.*

Sannyāsins were approached with proper courtsey and requests were made to come for dinner. On the way they took care to avoid crowds for fear of touching people of certain castes (cf. p. 24). The host received the sannyāsin with proper respect, washed their feet, gave them a big seat (*bṛhat-pīṭha*, p. 24), and special care was taken in giving them big plates (cf. *sthūlarambhāgrapatram* etc., p. 5) while dining. After dinner the sannyāsin was smeared with sandalwood paste fragrant with musk and camphor, was given cloves to chew, and was duly garlanded (p. 5). The host then gave him some presents, *e.g.*, costly garments (*samīcīnamamūlyam vastradvayam*, p. 5) and prostrated himself before the monk (*sāṣṭāṅgadaṇḍavatpraṇāmam kṛtvā, p. 5*). The host also called all the members of the family to pay their respects to the monk (pp. 5-6, pp. 26ff.). The sannyāsin, well fed and often over-eating (p. 5), then inquired about the different members of the family coming to pay respects. He sometimes showed interest in the members of the family of the host householder (pp. 27-29), praised the qualities of the hostess (p. 29), the intimacy and affection thus shown pleased the householder and enhanced his love and respect towards monks. Monks could advise the householder about the latter's family affairs and occasionally offered to help them (p. 28), or mildly rebuked them for their misdeeds as is done by the sannyāsin in GVM. when he plainly tells the host that the latter's action regarding the marriage of the younger daughter was not proper (p. 28). The incident is a clever satire by Dhuṇḍirāja on certain customs of the contemporary Brāhmaṇa society in the 17th century A.D.

This sannyāsin, before he turned an ascetic, was a " grandee ", a rich Brāhmaṇa trader from *Cañjīgrāma* in Karṇāṭaka (p. 34) who used to feed every day a number of Brāhmaṇas as also beggars and used to give them food as well as clothing. No beggar was turned out empty handed. This was the Hindu ideal of householders, especially those who could afford to do so. The merchant could keep a number of beautiful young damsels in his service with whom he could take all liberties. Of course, ultimately, his attachment to women landed him into serious difficulties.

especially in Saurāṣṭra and Rājasthān. They spread upto Khāndeśa. It is better to regard all these as caste names originally based on countries. In the age of these works, however, the (Pañca) Gauḍa Brāhmaṇas, the Kanojiā-Brāhmaṇas etc., were found not only in Gauḍa or Kānya-kubja but in other parts of India as well.

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Brāhmaṇas in Banaras generally stayed near the various ghāṭas (pp. 1-2), the host in GPM. stayed on the Bindu-Mādhava-Ghaṭṭa, near the shrine of Dugdha-Vināyaka (p. 2). There were rich brāhmaṇas who owned large buildings. Near Dugdha-Vināyaka, there were mansions of Timmābhaṭṭa, Rāmabhaṭṭa, Śivabhaṭṭa, Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭa, Kṛṣṇabhaṭṭa, Bhairavabhaṭṭa and so on. These may or may not be historical names. Such mansions (*gṛhas*) had *śālās* (lit. halls, here possibly blocks) in four directions,—east, north, west, south. There was the main *prāsāda* (in the centre). Tenants, (probably brāhmaṇa families only) were housed in either of the four *śālās* or in the main building (*prāsāda*). The householder in GPM. stayed in the block or dwelling at the northern end (*Uttara-śālā*). It is interesting to note that the Brāhmaṇa host in GVM. also stayed near the Dugdha-Vināyaka which again shows that GVM. was influenced by the GPM.

The Brāhmaṇa in GVM. looses temper with his wife because of her delay in giving the *snāna*-and *pūjā-sāmagrī* to her husband. The husband addresses her as *raṇḍe*, which is a clever satire by our author on the bad treatment meted out to Hindu ladies in this age. The Brāhmaṇa, of an easily irritable temperament, also abuses his son as *rāṇḍeya* and orders the latter to go to the bazaar (*āpaṇa*) and make certain purchases for the dinner to be given to some Brāhmaṇas and a Yati on that *parva*-day. Cash money was kept in the inner apartment (*antahpura* reserved for ladies) in a wooden-box (*dāru-mañjūṣā*) wherein was safely deposited a small gold-casket (*jātarūpa-sampuṭa, GVM*) in which were preserved gold and silver coins (*suvarṇa-mudrikā rajatamudrikā*). The son was asked to take only two silver coins from these and go to the Big Bazaar (*bṛhadāpaṇa*—modern, *baḍā bājāra*). There in the *Catustambhāpaṇa* (*lit.* market with four pillars—modern *Caukhambhā* area in Banaras) he was asked to change them into *Ḍhabukās*[15] at the shop (*haṭṭa*) of *Mūṣaka Mādhavajī*.[16] The fact that the son could make so many purchases with only two silver coins (about the value of two rupees) shows how cheap commodities for daily use were in India in c. 17th century A.D. Two and a half *seers* of pure ghee could be purchased for half a (silver) coin, thus ghee was sold at sixteen silver coins per (Bengali or pakkā) maund.

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[15] Of smaller denomination—during the British Period a *Ḍhabū* or *Ḍhabbu* was a big copper coin equal to two paisās. For Rajata-mudrā and Ḍhabuka, see, *Rājapraśasti-Kāvya-men mudrā* (Hindi) by Agrawala, R. C., in *Śodha-Patrikā*, March 1958, pp. 1-13 ; also, *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. VI, part 1, pp. 55-61.

[16] Mūṣaka may be a surname from mouse, compare, for example, *Mānkaḍa, Ghoḍā, Hāthī, Mankoḍī*, surnames in Saurāṣṭra. Or, Mūṣaka may be Mūkhaka, since *khá* is often written as *ṣa* in manuscripts and Mūkhaka = Mukhyaka, a headman. The first explanation is preferable.

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For the day's dinner, the son is asked to buy white sugar (*sitā śarkarā*), dāl of grams for preparing *pūrṇa* (= *pūraṇa*, sweet paste or pulp from boiled pulse of [17] grams mixed with sugar or molasses. *Pūraṇapolī*, known as *Veḍhamī* or *Pūraṇapoḷī* in Gujarat, a favourite dish of the people of Mahārāṣṭra (Deccan), is a flat bread in which the sweet pulp is sandwitched between two covers of the bread and then fried). He also purchases asafoetida (*hiṅgu* for flavouring and for frying—*chonka*), cumin-seeds (*jīraka*) powdered *haridrā* (Hindī *haldī*, turmeric), betel-nuts (*kramukāh*), cardamoms (*elā*), cloves (*lavaṅga*), nutmegs and mace (*jātī-phala* and *jāti-patra*), *Khadira* (may be the *katthā*, used in betel-leaves, prepared from bark of the Khadira-tree, Acacia Catechue). The betel-nuts, cardamoms, cloves, khadira etc. are used in betel-leaves (*tāmbūlapatra*) but elā, lavaṅga, jāti-patra, jatī-phala etc. are also used in flavouring certain dishes. Camphor (*karpūra*), musk (*kāstūrikā*), and saffron (*kesara*) mentioned next are used for both the purposes. Amongst other articles purchased were *gorocanā* (yellow orpiment, slightly fragrant, from urine or bile of cow, or from cow's head according to some [18]), *uśīra*, also called *sugandhavālā* (in local prakrit), the same as *khasa* in Gujarati, in Marāthi vālā etc., (Sanskrit *vīraṇa*, *sevya*, and similar to *abhaya*, *nalada*, *hrīvera*, etc., Andropogon squarossus [19]), the *daśāṅga* (*-dhūpa*, incense, famous in Tantras etc.). [20]

The son was further asked to purchase wheat-flour (*godhūma-cūrṇa*) passed through a piece of cloth (*i.e.* Fine powder of wheat, *mendā* in modern Hindi, Gujarati etc.). It is interesting to note that the bargain was to be struck with

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17 Besides pulse of gram, this dish is also prepared from other pulses.

cf. पूरणाची पोळी, तुपाची होळी (Marathi) for popularity of this dish amongst Mahārāṣṭrians. *Pūraṇapolī* is eaten with plenty of ghee.

18 *cf*: *Gorucandana*, in Gujarati. Gorocanā is used as a sedative, tonic etc., and for children.

19 *cf*: *Abhijñana-Śākuntalam*, act 3,—प्रियंवदे, कस्येदमुशीरानुलेपनं मृणालवन्ति च नलिनीपत्राणि नीयन्ते ।

20 *cf*:—रोगरोगहरोरोगदकेंशाः सुरतरुजतुलघुपत्रविशेषाः ।
वक्रविवर्ज्जितवारिजमुद्रा धूपवर्त्तिरिह सुन्दरि भद्रा ॥

अन्यच्च—
मधु मुस्तं घृतं गन्धो गुग्गुलागुरुशैलजम् ।
सरलं सिह्लसिद्धार्थं दशाङ्गो धूप उच्यते ॥

Quoted from Tantrasāra in *Śabdakalpadrumakośa*, Vol. II, p. 801.

Also compare the following formula of this dhūpa for worship of Keśava, from Pādmottarakhaṇḍa :—

कर्पूरं कुष्ठमगुरु गुगगुलुर्मलयोद्भवम् ।
केशवं वालकं पत्रं त्वग्जालीकोषमुत्तमम् ॥
सर्वमेतद् घृतयुतं दशाङ्गो धूप ईरितः ॥ Śabdakalpadruma, II. p. 801.

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a vow (*pratijñayā gṛhītvā*), possibly on the part of the merchant selling it, that there was no adulteration in the wheat-flour; this reminds us of modern practices of adulterations in food-stuffs and the black-markets. Also the son was asked to purchase, *piṣṭa* or unadulterated flour of *māṣa* (beans, Phaseolus Radiatus), of unmixed grams (Cicer Arietinum) and of rice (Compare the Marāṭhī *pīṭha* from Skt. *piṣṭam*, a preparation of gram-flour is called *piṭhale*). Then from the Vegetables-market (*śāka-āpaṇa*, modern *śāka-market* or *śāka-bazaar*) he was to purchase *sūraṇa* (a bulbous root, a morphophallus campanulatus) the red and white *kandas* (bulbous roots, yams, these, may be modern *ratālu* in Guj. and Rātāle in Marāṭhī), the *Karkaṭikā* (modern Guj. *kākaḍī*, cucumber), *budbudakās* (?) kūṣmāṇḍa-phala (Guj. Koḷu, a kind of pumpkin-gourd, Benincasa Cerifera), the yellow-kūṣmāṇḍa, parovarāṇi (Guj. Mar. paravala), vṛntākas (Guj. Vengaṇa, Riṅgaṇā, Vantāka ; Marathi Vāṅge ; Hindī Begaṇa), tuṇḍi-phala (a kind of gourd or cucumber, Momordica Monadelpha, modern ṭiṇḍolā, in Guj.) paṭolaphala (paṭoḷa = paḍavaḷa (ra) Mar.,),[20] kāravellas (kārelā in Guj. Hindī, Kārale in Mar., Momordica Charantina), and the panaśa-fruit (bread-fruit, jack-fruit).

There was another market[21] near the temple of Annapūrṇā. From the shops near Annapūrṇā-temple were available, ripe and unripe plaintains, the flowers of the plaintain-tree and the root of the same (*kadalī-garbha-kanda*). Mahārāṣṭrians are fond of preparing dishes from kadalī-kusuma etc.

From this place the son was to go the *Kāla-Bhairava*-Market (*i.e.*, market near the Kāla-Bhairava shrine and named after the latter) where a number of *patra-śākas* (modern Guj. Mar. *Bhājī*) or leafy vegetables were sold. Here were purchased, leaves of *methī* (Trigonella Foenum Graecum), *taṇḍula* (pot-herb, Amarantus Polygonoides, modern Guj. -*tāndaljo* Mar. tānduljā), *upodakī* (Basella Cordifolia-*vālīcī bhājī* in Mar.), *Cakramardaka* (Cassia Tora, Guj.-*Puṅvāḍio* or *Kunvāḍio* ; Skt. prapunnāṭah), *bṛhatī* (= skt. kaṇṭakārikā, Guj.-Bhonya-riṅgaṇī-(?) Solanum Indicum or S. Melongena and S. Jacquini (?)), the wild *kāravellas* (these are very bitter), the leaves of red and white kandas. Tamarind (*tintiṇī*) was not to be missed in these purchases, also *śṛṅgaveraka* (= *ārdraka*, fresh undried ginger) and long leaves of the plaintain tree. Leaves of the plaintain tree were used, and are still used, as plates in which meals are served.

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[20] Trichosanthes Cucumerina. There is a variety of paṭoḷa, very bitter to taste, used as pittaghna in Āyurveda.

[21] For markets in Kāśī in the early part of the nineteenth century, as also for their growth in the same age, see, R. L. Singh, Banaras, A study in Urban Geography, pp. 34ff, 38ff, 73ff. ; also see, Reginald Heber, Narrative of Journey through Upper Provinces of India, 1824-25, Vol. I, 2nd ed., pp. 371-436 and James Princep's Map of Banaras, 1822.

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The GPM. gives no list of purchases made for the feast. Since the list was long (in GVM.), the son was asked to note it down on a piece of paper (*kāgada*). The various preparations served, as narrated in GPM. and GVM., will be discussed below under ' food and drinks '. The above account of special purchases shows that, as in modern times, vegetables, certain spices, special flours etc. were purchaced fresh whenever necessary whereas other commodities such as rice, dāl or pulses etc. were stored in the house.

The GPM. shows that Vidyānagar (Bījāpur) was a flourishing town, the district of the same name was also flourishing. Various jewels and gems, like the diamond, pearls, cat's-eye gem (*vaiḍūrya*), the *gomeda*[21] gem, topaz (*puṣparāga*), etc. various precious metals like gold, silver, iron etc., beautiful varieties of garments, superior quality of *malaya-candana* (sandal-wood from Malaya region), the *bhīmasenī-karpūra* (camphor known as such[22]), musk, betel-nuts of good quality, cloves of best qualities, cocoanuts, plaintain-fruits, creepers (*latā*) of pepper (*marīca*), betel-leaves (*tāmbūla*), grapes, soma plant (?) etc. were available in plenty. A list of various trees, creepers and plants, clusters,bushes or shrubs and flowers growing in this region is given in GPM. (pp. 3-4).

Similar lists about Madhyadeśa in GPM. (pp. 11-13) are especially interesting. The Brāhmaṇa in GPM. says that he hailed from Kānyakubja-deśa which is also called the Madhyadeśa. In this region, the following food-grains (*dhānyāni*) grew: *yava* (barley), *vrīhi* (paddy), *caṇaka* (horse-grams), *māṣa* (*uḍīda* in Mar., *aḍada* in Guj. Phaseolus radiatus[23]) *rāja-māṣa* (*cavaḷyā* in

[21] *Gomeda* also known as *Pītaratnaka, Pingasfaṭika, Agastisatva, Tamomaṇi, Rāhuratna, etc.*, is interpreted variously as Onyx, Amethyst, Chalcedony, Agate, Sardonyx, Hisonyte etc. For this as well as other gems, see, *Ratnapradīpa (Marāṭhī)*, Vol. I, by Mahādeva Lakṣmaṇa Khāmboṭe (Nagpur, 1931 A.D.).

[22] It may be barāsa. *Bhīmasenī karpura* is referred to in the *Varṇaratnākara* of Jyotirīśvara, wherein all nine varieties of camphor are noted. *Cenā* (a Chinese quality) and *Bhīmasenīkapura* are also referred to in Jyāyasī's *Padmāvata*, Agrawal's ed., p. 4. According to *Sulabhauṣadhiprabhākara* (ed. by P. B. Ogale, pub. by Citraśālā Press, Poona, 1932), p. 127, this is prepared from raw camphor. The formula for preparation is also given. See also, *Nighanṭaratnākara, I (Nirṇayasagara Press, Bombay, 1936)*, pp. 54-55 giving varieties of camphor. They are *Īśāvāsa-karpūra, Hima-k., Bhīmasenī-k., Udayabhāskara-k., Parṇa-k., and Chinī-karpura.*

[23] S. Sen Gupta, in his paper, *Food Prohibition in Smṛti Texts, Journal of the Asiatsc Society, Letters (Calcutta), Vol. XII, No. 2.*, p. 206, renders *Māṣa* as Black pea, Bengali *Māṣakalāi Phaseolus mungo var. roxburghii.* See, *Nighaṇṭu-*

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Mar.,[24] *coḷā* in Guj., *Varvaṭi kalāya*, in Bengali), *mudga* (beans of Phaseolus Mungo, *Maga* in Guj., *Munga* in Hindi), *sarṣapa* (Rape seeds, Brassica campestris, Beng. *śvetasariṣā*,[25] Hindi *Sarason*, Guj. *Sarasava*), *atasī* (Linseed, Linum usitatissimum, Masinā or Tisi in Bengali, Aḷasī in Guj., Alasī in Hindi), *tila* (sesamum, S. indicum), *masūra*, (lentil, Beng. Mar., Mar,, Hind, Guj. *masūra*, Lens esculenta, Ervum lens[26]), *yavanāla* (Great millet, *Joyāra* in Bengali, Andropagon Sorghum, Sorghum vulgare,[27] *Jondhaḷe* in Marathi[28]), *priyaṅgu* (= *gahunlā* in Gujarati, gahvalā, ghenulā in Marathi, Aglaia Roxburghiana)[29], *śyāmāka* (*sāmo* in Guj., *sāmvā*, Hindi and Mar., *śyāmāvāsa* or *śāmādhāna*, Bengali, Panicum Frumentaceum, *śyāmāka-taṇḍuala* and *śyāmākaudana* are known to Vedic literature)[30] and *kodrava* (= *kodarā* in Guj., *kodru* or *harika* in Mar.[31] and Bengali *kodo*, Skt. *koradūṣaka*, Paspalum scrobiculatum). Several other *dhānyas* were also grown. The above list is noteworthy as it includes most of the grains in common use amongst masses in North India. The list of *tīrthas* given in this context, discussed below, shows that by Madhyadeśa, the author here denotes almost the whole of India, North of the Vindhyas.

Ādarśa, ed. by Bāpālāl Garbaḍdās Vaidya (Gujarati; Broach, 1927), Vol. I., for quotations from Āyurvedic texts.

[24] S. Sen Gupta, *Op. cit.*, p. 198 renders it as Cow-pea, asparagus bean, Beng. Varvaṭī, Vigna Sinenesis; V. Catjang. According to Monier-Williams Dictionary, it is Dolichos Catjang. Śri Bāpālāl Vaidya, *op. cit.* p. 382 says that the identification of *Rājamāṣa*, and *Mahāmāṣa* in old Vaidyaka works is not certain.

[25] S. Sen Gupta, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

[26] S. Sen Gupta, *op. cit.*, p. 190. According to Monier Williams Dictionary it is Ipomoea Turpenthum, Ichnocarpus Frutescens.

[27] S. Sen Gupta, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

[28] *Nighaṇṭaratnākara*, *I*. p. 110 gives two varieties, Dhavala and Śāradayāvanāla.

[29] *Nighaṇṭu- Ādarśa*, *I*. pp. 252, gives all Vaidyaka references with quotations. Shri B. G. Vaidya, in his *Samskṛta Sāhityamān Vanaspati* (Guj., Ahmedabad, 1953) pp. 333 ff., gives a number of references from Classical texts and discusses the various identifications. S. Sen Gupta, *op. cit.*, p. 205 calls it Setaria Italica, Bengali—Kānī dhāna, Hīndi—Kangu, and says in a foot-note that Priyaṅgu denotes many plants. Hemacandra, in *Abhi. Cint.* v. 1176, writes —कङ्गुस्तु कङ्गुनी कङ्गुः प्रियङ्गुः पीततण्डुलाः । Acc. to Amara., 758-59 :—श्यामा तु महिलाह्वया । लता गोवन्दिनी गुन्द्रा प्रियङ्गुः फलिनी फली । विष्वक्सेना गन्धफली कारम्भा प्रियकश्च सा ।

[30] Monier Williams Dictionary (1956 ed.), p. 1095; also see, *Nighanṭaratnākara*, *I*. pp. 114 ff.

[31] *Nighanṭaratnākara*, *I*, p. 114.

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In this region was available the *śarkarā* (= *sākara* in Guj., *sākhara* in Marathi,[32] candied sugar, sugar), *khaṇḍa-śarkarā* (possibly modern *khaḍī-sākara* in Guj. Hindi etc., big crystals of sugar), *guḍa* (molasses),[33] and fruits like grapes, dates (*kharjūra*), plaintains, elephant or wood-apple (*kapittha, Koṭhum* in Guj. *Kaith, Kabīṭ* in Hindi, *Kavaṭha* in Mar., Feronia Elephantinum), mangoes, lemons, tamarind, oranges, pomegranate-fruits, and such other several fruits.

Three types of salts were available—*Saindhava lavaṇa, Sāmudrika-l.,* and *Sāmbhara-lavaṇa.* The first is produced in the Sindhu (Indus) river delta, the second from the Ocean and the third from the Sāmbhara region and the Salt mines of Punjab.[34].

Milk,[35] curds, butter-milk and other preparations like *udaśvit, mathita, āmikṣā, phāṇṭa, navanīta,* (butter), and *ghee* were also in use in this region. *Udaśvit* is butter-milk with fifty percent of water added to it, *mathita* is simply churned curds. *Āmikṣā* is prepared from boiled or hot milk mixed with butter-milk, while *fāṇṭam* is natural decoction (*vikāra*) of milk without *dadhiyoga.*

In the *takraprakaraṇa*, the *Bhojanakutūhala* (a work of c. 1650 A.D. by Raghunātha), I, the four varieties of butter-milk according to Suṣeṇa are noted. They are : *ghola, mathita, udaśvit* and *takra.* Cf. ससरं निर्मलं घोलं मथितं सरवर्जितम् ।

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[32] For varieties of Śarkarā, see *Nighaṇṭaratnākara*, I, pp. 182 ff., which gives properties of *śarkarā, khaṇḍopalā* (*khaṇḍa-śarkarā*) *śvetopalā* (called *Nāvadasākhara, Rāyapuri, i.e. coming from Raipur* according to the editor of this work in the last century), *kṣudrā-śarkarā, Gauḍī-śarkarā, Malakhaṇḍa-śarkarā, Pauṇḍrekṣu-śarkarā, Puṣpodbhavā, Madhujā and Yavāsa-śarkarā.*

[33] For varieties and properties of *guḍa* and *śarkarā*, also see, *Bhojana-kutūhala, I*, pp. 159-165. Guḍa, old and new, has different properties. Śarkarā of following varieties and different properties is noted :—Puṇḍrakaśarkarā, Vaṁśekṣujā, Śyāmekṣujā, Raktekṣujā, Macchaṇḍī, Yāsaśarkarā, Madhuśarkarā, Guḍaguḍā or Guḍaśarkarā. Other such sweet preparations of sugar-candy juice are Sitakhaṇḍa, Tavarāja and Siddhakhaṇḍa or Khaṇḍatavarāja. Some of these names are also found in the *Nāmamālikā* of Bhoja, lines 565-69. Also see, *Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi* of Hemacandra, 941-3.

[34] Cf. Hemacandra, *Abhi. Cin.* 941-42 :—रूमा लवणखानिः स्यात्, सामुद्रं लवणं हि यत् । तदक्षीवं वशीरश्च, सैन्धवं तु नदीभवम् ॥ ९४१ ॥ माणिमन्थं शीतशिवं, रौमकं तु रुमाभवं । वसुकं वसूकं तच्च, विडपाक्ये तु कृत्रिमे ॥ ९४२ ॥ सौवर्चलेऽक्षं रुचकं दुर्गन्धं शूलनाशम् । कृष्णे तु तत्र तिलकः.........॥ ९४३ ॥. *Bhojana-kutūhala, I.* pp. 116-117 names them differently as *Saindhava-l., Gāḍha-l.* (from Sāmbhara region), *Sāmudra, Droṇeya, Aukhara* and *Romaka.*

[35] For different kinds of milk and curds, and their various medicinal properties, see, *Bhojana-kutūhala, I*, pp. 126 ff., *Nighaṇṭaratnākara*, I. pp. 190-193.

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पादोदकमुदस्वित्तत् तक्रमर्धजलं भवेत् ।[36] For different kinds of butter and ghee, also see, *Bhoj. kutū*, I. pp. 147-151, *Nighaṇṭaratnākara* 193 ff., 77 ff.

Next the GPM. refers to various oils, *e.g.* oils of seamum, castor-seeds, rape-seeds (*sarṣapa*, Hindi—*sarason*, Brassica Campestris), linseeds (*atasī*), safflower (*kusumbha*) and neem (*nimba*). The *Bhojanakutūhala*, I. pp. 151-154 notes several oils with their medical properties.

Honey was also used. Of the spices, condiments, dry ginger, pepper (Piper longum, *pippalī*, known as *pīpara* in Guj. etc.) and black pepper (*marīca*, Piper nigrum), *kaṭuka-rohiṇī*[37] (Picrorrhija Kurroa, *kaḍu* in Guj.), roots of *pippalī*, *jīraka* (= *jīrā*, Hindi, *jīru*, Guj., Panicum miliaceum, cumin seeds), *rāmaṭha* (Asafoetida, *Hiṅgu or Hiṅga*), *āmalakī* (Emblic Myrobalan) and *vibhītaka* (Terminalia Bellerica, *behaḍā* in Mar. and *baheḍā* in Guj.) were produced in this region. It would be interesting to compare the list of spices, condiments etc. used for flavours, mentioned as *sambhāras*, from *Bhojanakutūhala*, I. pp. 115 ff.

Then the Brāhmāṇa Vājapeyī gives a list of the fauna of Madhyadeśa.

In the GVM. (pp. 31 ff) the Brāhmaṇa host is made to note the various holy places in Gauḍadeśa, as also the various commodities like cloth, and food-grains etc. available in this region. He also notes the flora and fauna of the land, the various castes of Brāhmaṇas and people of different professions living in it.

According to this data, the following food-grains grew in Gauḍadeśa,—*vrīhi*,[38] *godhūma*, *yava*, *caṇaka*, *māṣa*, *mudga*, *masūra*, *rājamāṣa*, *āḍhakī* (Pigeon

[36] *Bhojanakutūhala* (Trivandrum, 1956), I. pp. 142 ff. The *sara* and *mastu* are defined as—दध्नस्तूपरि यो भागो घनः स्नेहसमन्वितः । स लोके सर इत्युक्तो दध्नो वारि तु मस्त्विति । The text gives the following ten varieties of *takra* according to Bhoja :—भोजस्तु तक्रस्य दश भेदान्गुणभेदांश्चाह—

करमथितोदश्वित्तक्रदण्डाहतगौडिकानि ।
कालसेयकखाडवकामिलितामिलितानि दश भवन्ति ॥

These varieties are then separately described in this text, pp. 145 ff.

[37] According to Monier William's Dict., it is Helleborus Niger. But see, *Nighanṭu-ādarśa*, II, pp. 177 f. It may be noted that *kaṭuka-rohiṇī* or *kaḍu* grows in the Himalayan regions. It may also be noted that this and vibhītaka might not have been used as spices.

[38] Several varieties of rice (*śāli*) were noted in the first edition (1867 A. D.) of *Nighaṇṭaratnākara*, *I*, p. 429.—They are—पटणी (गरवी व हळवी), घुड्या वरंगळ व वारीक वरंगळ, राजावळ (कुसाची व बोडकी), तांबसाळ (रायभोग), कोथिंबिरें (बोडके भात), डांगी, आंबेमोहोर, जिरेसाळ (जिरवेल), दोडकी, घोसाळवेल, कृष्णसाळ, निरपुंज, तुळशें भात (कुसांचें), बंगालवेल, एलची, कमोद, तोरणा. पंखाळ, महाडी, भुरा, बिसबिटी, खारें भात (*i. e.* बारीक पटणीं, च्चिमणसाळ हळवी, कुडई, गोदवेल),

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pea, Cajanus cajan ; C. indicus ; *aḍahara* Bengālī, *tuvera*, Guj., *tūr*, Mar.), *kulittha* (= *kulattha*, Dolichos biflorus, Bengālī *kūrtikalāi*, Marathi *kuḻitha*, Guj. *kaḷathī*), *laṅkā* (= Guj. *lāṅga* ? Chicking Vetch), [38] *tila*, *khalva* (?), *priyaṅgu*, *eṇava* (?), *nīvāra*, *śyāmāka*, *maṇḍava* (?) and *sarṣapa*.

Gauḍadeśa was famous for excellent qualities of *Pṛthukas*. [39] This is the same as modern *pohe* (*pahunā or pahuvā* in Guj. rice-flakes) and these mixed with milk and sugar are still very popular in India. Even today Bengalis are very fond of these. Sugar (*śarkarā*), white and of good quality, as also molasses were also produced in this region. Milk, curds, *kṣaudra* (one of the eight kinds of honey), [40] good quality of ghee, various types of oils, *e. g.* of *tila*, *sarṣapa*, *atasī*, *eraṇḍa* and *kusumbha* as also fragrant oils and essences of sweet smell were produced.

Costly silks (*paṭṭavastrāṇi*) of various types were produced. Excellent *dukūlas* (cloth of certain fibres acc. to Motichandra) known as *kṣīrodaka* (= *khirodaka* in Guj. of different shades in one cloth, usually white and blue, a *dhūpachāva* type) and many varieties of garments (cloth, *cīra* = *cīvara*) of silk were produced. According to this Brahmin of Gauḍadeśa, sericulture was done in Gauḍadeśa alone. Fine cotton garments were also available.

We omit the lists of trees, creepers, flowers animals, birds, etc. Various types of fishes and the *śafarīs* etc. were in plenty.

There were several types of boats, and expert boatmen (sailors) as also traders (baving their own boats) in boat-traffic (*nauvyavasāyinah*). There were also the fishermen (*kaivartakāh*).

जोडभात (*i. e.* सकवार, कंडा, सुकवेल, कवची, डांभेल, कालवेल, रामसाळ, सुतरसाळ, मालवेल, केळवेल, वांकडो). An earlier list, contemporary with the age of our text is supplied by *Bhojana-kutūhala*, I, pp. 3-7. Different lists, mentioned in the different texts published in *Varṇaka-samuccaya*, (ed. by B. J. Sandesara, Baroda, 1956), *Vol. I.*, pp. 5, 175 f., 190, etc. may be noted. Twenty-seven varieties of *cāvala* are mentioned in *Padmāvata* (ed. by V. S. Agrawala), ૫૪૪।૧-૭, pp. 584-86. Carka, sūtrasthāna, xxvii, gives different varieties of *śāli* and includes *śāli*, *vrīhi*, *śyāmāka*, *Nīvāra* etc. amongst *Śuka-Dhānya-Varga*, while *mudga*, *māṣa* etc. are in *Śamī-Dhnva-Varga*. Suśruta's lists of śāli Dhānya, Ṣaṣṭika Dhānya, Kudhānya etc. may also be noted.

38 Nadakarni's *Indian Materia Medica* (3rd. ed.), Vol. I. p. 726. Properties of Laṅkā are noted in *Bhoj. Kutū.*, I. p. 14.

39 *Cf. Abhi. Cin.*, 401—पृथुकश्चिपिटस्तुल्यौ लाजाः स्युः पुनरक्षताः । *Amarakośa*, 1801 gives the same meaning. Compare also *Bhoj. Kutū, I.* p. 24.

40 Cf. *Bhoja. Kutū, I.* pp. 165 ff. The eight kinds are—माक्षिकं भ्रामरं क्षौद्रं पौतिकं छात्रकं तथा । आर्घ्यमौद्दालकं दालमित्यष्टौ मधुजातयः ॥ They are described in this text.

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There were Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śudras. In Gauḍadeśa were also to be found people from Gurjaradeśa, Āndhra, Karṇāṭaka, Draviḍa and Mahārāṣṭra.

There were (brāhmaṇas known as) *Cittapāvanas* (they seem to have originally come from Mahārāṣṭra where they are numerous), *Kāṇvas* (*i.e.* of Kāṇva śākhā) and *Mādhyandinas* (of the Śukla-Yajurveda, M.—Śākhā). There were Jainas, as well as the following people—*Kānyakubjas* (*i.e.* originally coming from Kānyakubja or Kanauj district), *Sārasvatas*, *Māthuras*, *Pāñcālās*, *Marujās* (people from Marudeśa), *Māgadhīyas*, *Maithilas*, *Pārvatīyas* (from hill tracts), *Trihūtanas* (from the Tirhut region), *Gauḍas* (of course, natives of this Gauḍadeśa), *Utkalas* (coming from Utkala, roughly the state of Orissa), and people from *Kāśī*, *Gayā* and *Prayāga* (Allahabad). The *Gayāpālakas* and *Prayāgapālakas* are possibly the Brāhmaṇa *Paṇḍās* (*Purohitas*) from Gayā and Prayāga who look after and earn their living from their *yajamānas* visiting these tīrthas.

There were low caste people earning their living from different professions. There were the barbers, washermen, potters, artisans or sculptors (*śilpinaḥ*), traders (*vaṇijaḥ*), weavers (*paṭakārāḥ*), the bards or professional panegerists (*māgadhāḥ*), and there were many others who lived by selling commodities (*paṇyajīvinah*, tradesmen). There were the Yavanas, the Cāṇḍālas, the workers in Bamboos (*vaṁśasfoṭakas*, *vānsafoḍās* in Guj.), the *dhīvaras* (fishermen), the foresters, the hunters (*vyādhas*) and the persons selling flowers (*kusumopajīvī*, *mālākāra*, Guj. *Māḷīs*). There were monks and ascetics who were called *jaṭilas* (wearing matted hair), the *tāpasas*, the *Vairāgis* (a special class usually of Vaiṣṇavas, even today popular in Bengal as *Berāgīs*), the worshippers of *Bhairava* and also persons practising charms etc. (*mantrikas*, probably a corrupt reading for *māntrikas*).

There were prostitutes and people living on prostitution. There were the rope-dancers or actors (*naṭāh*) and professional dancers (*nartakāḥ*). There were many merchants and many rich people. There were physicians (*vaidyāḥ*) and astrologers (and astronomers—*jyotirvidaḥ*) and such other men of various castes and professions.

Interesting details about some typical customs prevailing in different parts of India are introduced in the GPM. (pp. 13 f) and the GVM. (pp. 30-31) in the dialogues between the Brāhmaṇa host and the Sannyāsin invited for dinner. The Sannyāsin asks Vājapeyī (in GPM.) whether or not in the latter's native land (Kānyakubjadeśa), the *audana* (grain mashed and cooked with milk, porridge, boiled rice) cooked by a lady in her monthly illness was partaken or not. The Brāhmaṇa replies that the *samīcīnas* (*i.e.* those who follow the *sadācāra* or the

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rules of right conduct, the *śiṣṭas*) did not do so but the *dharkaṭas, agramānikas and the halavāhakas* had no objection to it. The first is a caste-name, persons of Dharkaṭa jñāti or vamśa, usually Vaiśyas, are known from Jaina inscriptions, the second if it is a corrupt reading as suggested in the text, p. 13, foot note, may denote the Māṇis (or was it Agravāṇija or Agravaṇija = Agrawalas ? also cf. *agrajāṇikas* in Varṇaratnākara, p. 9.) and the third may denote farmers, the Haḷis or Hāḷis, tilling the land with the plough. The Brahmin further tells the Sannyāsin that such *durācāras* (condemned practices) are seen in all lands, and then gives a list of them. In fact these are local customs, though contrary to prescribed rules in smṛtis etc.

Thus in the South, people marry maternal uncle's daughter and amongst the Dākṣiṇātyas girls are married before they are four years old. In the Āndhradeśa, tilling with plough (which is not the duty of a Brāhmaṇa) is practised. In Karṇātaka they dine even without taking bath. In Mahārāṣṭra they partake of the dish from which another person has eaten, and marry the younger son when the elder one is still unmarried, in the Draviḍa and Kerala countries all ladies do not cover their breasts, and in Kerala sexual intercourse is practised contrary to the usual position of the male and the female, in Koṅkaṇa they (twice-born) climb the trees, in Gurjaradeśa they drink water from a vessel made of animal-hide, and a lady observes her monthly illness for two days only, taking her bath on the third day, in the North (Uttaradeśa) they eat meat, though prohibited in the Kali age. In the hilly regions (Parvatadeśa, of the Himalayan regions) the practice of niyoga, that is, begetting a son, by the brotherin-law of the widow is a durācāra. In Maithila and Gauḍadeśa they always smear their bodies with oils, and in the Gauḍadeśa, people do not accept the authority of the Vedas. In the Kānyakubjadeśa they eat preparations cooked in ghee from shops in the bazaar, and touch others while dining during marriage ceremony. The people of Utkaladeśa follow a certain obscene practice in sexual life. People of Gauḍa, Draviḍa, Kerala, Utkala and Maithila countries eat cooked *audana* of rice (from others). The last custom reminds one of the practice of eating cooked rice, as *prasāda* of the Lord, by even Brahmins at Jagannātha-Purī Shrine. People of all these lands chew betel-leaves while walking on the road.

An almost similar list is given in the GVM. (pp. 30-31) with the additional information that in Magadha is practised inter-class (*varṇa*) marriage, in the Candrāvatī region they enjoy slave-girls while the twice-born of the Kāśmīra live almost like the yavanas, their *durācāras* being innumerable. In this list, the Brāhmaṇa emphatically declares that one or the other durācāra is found in all lands, but amongst the twice-born of the Mahārāṣṭra there is no durācāra, and especially amongst the followers of the Mādhva sect there is not the slightest

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durācāra. It is this boast of the Brāhmaṇa which suggests that the author of the GVM. might have been a Brāhmaṇa from Mahārāṣṭra, and a follower of the Mādhva school.

Such long lists of durācāras became popular and current amongst Brāhmaṇa paṇḍits due to the discussions on the validity of customs in Hindu Law. Kumārila-bhaṭṭa incidentally noted such practices of his times and said that they are to be condemned and not to be followed or regarded as authoritative. In his days, he says, even Brāhmaṇa women of Ahicchatrā and Mathurā drink wine,[40] the Brāhmaṇas of the North eat from the same plate with their wives, children and friends, the Brāhmaṇas of the South marry the maternal uncle's daughter and take their meals while seated on a couch (of wicker work) ; both (brāhmaṇas of the north and south) take cooked food (kept in pots) that remains after their friends or relatives have partaken of it or that has been touched by them (at the time of eating) ; they chew betel-nut-leaves that have been touched by persons of all varṇas, wear clothes washed by washerman and brought on the back of asses, and so on. Kumārila further says that there are everywhere an infinite number of very obvious transgressions of the subtle dictates of dharma laid down for each man, caste or family, that (transgressions) are contrary to śruti, smṛti and each other and that have a visible purpose behind them, and that it is not possible to regard such practices as authoritative.

However a very tolerant attitude prevailed in ancient India in the case of such practices and customs and Hindu law—givers took a very liberal view even about the customs, practices etc. of heretical sects like Buddhism, Jainism etc. or of the non-Aryan population.[41] But such discussions in works on Dharmaśāstra provide interesting cultural data. The lists of condemned practices in the GPM. and GVM. seem to have grown so long from such discussions amongst Hindu Paṇḍits. Both the GPM. and the GVM. adopt a very liberal view regarding such practices.

Incidentally a few such customs collected by Mm. P. V. Kane from different texts may be referred to here. It will be seen that marrying of maternal uncle's daughter amongst the twice-born of Southern India is a very ancient custom. Jaimini. I. 3.15-23 constitute what is called Holākādhikaraṇa or Sāmānyaśrutiprakaraṇa. Here incidentally it is said that certain practices like the Holākā (spring festival, Hoḷi in Gujarati) are observed by the easterners,

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40 *Tantravārtika*, p. 204, Also see, for a discussion on transgressions of dharma, and authoritativeness of customs and usages with full references, Mm. Kane, P. V., *History of Dharmaśāstra* Vol. III. pp. 843 ff.

41 For a very detailed discussion, see, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. III. pp. 848 ff. 856 ff. 859 ff.

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certain others like Āhnīnaibuka (worship of growing Karañja or Arka or other trees as handed down in one's family) by the southerners, and the Udvṛṣabhayajña (honouring oxen on the Full Moon of Jyeṣṭha and making them run a race) by the northerners.

The Āśv. Gṛ. Sū. I. 7.1-2 says that various indeed are the observances of (different) countries and villages; one should follow those in marriages. The Āp. Gṛ. Sū. II. 15 declares that people should understand from women what procedure is to be observed (according to custom). Several Gṛhyasūtras (like Pāraskara II. 17, Mānava Gṛ. Sū. I. 4.6) refer to the practices of people that should be followed in such matters as commencing agricultural operations, holidays etc.

Baudhāyana Dharma Sū, I. 1.19-26 says, " there is difference of opinion regarding five (practices) in the South as well as in the North. We shall explain those peculiar to the South. They are : to eat in the company of one whose upanayana is not performed, to eat in the company of one's wife, to partake of stale food, to marry the daughter of a maternal uncle or a parental aunt. Now the customs peculiar to (Brāhmaṇas of) the north are : to sell wool, to drink rum, to deal in the sale of animals with an upper and a lower row of teeth, to follow the profession of arms and to travel by sea. "

Bṛhaspati, quoted in Smṛticandrikā, I. 10, advises the king to keep intact customs of countries, castes and families that have been long in vogue in them and states that otherwise the subjects become irritated and disaffected and there is loss of wealth and army. He gives certain striking illustrations of such practices : members of the twice-born classes in the south take in marriage their maternal uncle's daughter ; in the middle country (the country between the Himālaya and the Vindhya lying to the west of Prayāga and to the east of Vinaśana where Sarasvatī disappears) artisans and menial workers eat the flesh of a cow ; in the eastern countries all people (including Brāhmaṇas) eat fish and women are given to adultery ; in the north women drink liquor and contact with them even in their monthly illness is allowed ; the people of the khaśa country take as wives widows of their own brothers ; these several people are not liable to punishment or penance because of their doing things in the respective countries. Medhātithi on Manu. VIII. 3 gives some interesting illustrations of local customs, *viz.*, in certain southern localities a sonless widow occupies a square low table in the hall of justice, when she is struck with dice by judicial officers and then she gets her husband's property, in the north there is a custom that when certain persons come on behalf of a bridegroom seeking for a virgin in marriage and if they are fed at the house of the girl's father it amounts to a promise for the proposed marriage. Again Medhātithi on Manu II. 6 gives certain illustrations of practices of śiṣṭas on matters on which the

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Veda and smṛti are silent and which they observe with the consciousness that such practices are right.

Some of the condemned practices, noted in the GPM. and GVM are thus fairly old customs of those countries. It seems however that these were in existence even in the seventeenth century.

Veṅkaṭādhvarī, the son of Raghunātha Dīkṣita, composed an interesting work entitled *Viśvaguṇādarśa-Campū.*[41] He was a contemporary of Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita and therefore his age falls in the seventeenth century A. D., the age of GPM. and GVM. The Viśvaguṇādarśa-Campū supplies interesting cultural data about different parts of India, and as contemporary evidence about the state of Brāhmaṇas in Banaras, it would not be out of place to note it here.

According to this text, two Gandharvas, Viśvāvasu and Kṛśānū, start on an aerial survey of various parts of India and while flying over different towns or districts they discuss the region under survey. The whole text is very interesting as it thus provides some useful cultural data for India in the seventeenth century. In the section on *Kāśīvarṇanam*[42], a reference is made to the degraded condition of the Brāhmaṇas at Banaras who could not properly observe all the rules of conduct prescribed for them and an attempt is made to excuse their conduct by stating that Kāśī (Banaras) suffered largely from the onslaught of the Turuṣkas and the consequent stay of some of them in this holy place. Compare :—

कृशानुः—किमेतद्देशवासिनोऽपि ब्राह्मणाः केवलं कलिमाहात्म्याकलितशास्त्रीयचर्याविपर्यया भवता नमस्क्रियन्ते ? पश्य तावत्प्रायेणास्य काशीदेशजनसुचर्याविपर्यासम् ॥ २४ ॥

शस्त्रैर्जीवति शास्त्रमुज्झति परं शूद्राहृतैरम्बुभिः
स्नात्याचामति देवताः स्नपयति स्वैरं पचत्योदनम् ।
उच्छिष्टान्न बिभेति याति यवनैरुच्चावचैः सङ्गतिं
मातङ्गान्निकटं गतानगणयन्मार्गान्मुहुर्गाहते ॥ ८९ ॥

किं च—

प्रातर्हन्त कृताप्लवोऽपि रजकस्पृष्टान्जडो रासभै—
रूढान् धारयते पटाननुदिनं धृत्वा बहिर्गच्छति ।
गत्वा म्लेच्छमुखाशुचीन्स्पृशति च स्पृष्ट्वापि न स्नात्यहो
न स्नातोऽप्यथ भुङ्क्त एष चपलो भुक्त्वापि न व्रीडति ॥ ९० ॥

अपि च—

नीचैर्दुर्यवनैः शुनीभिरपि वा निःशङ्कमालोकितं
भुङ्क्ते पङ्क्तिविदूषकैः सह नरैरज्ञातवेदाक्षरैः ।

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41 *Viśvaguṇādarśa-Campū*, edited with commentary by B. G. Yogī and revised by M. G. Shastri Bakre, published by Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, Bombay, Fifth edition, 1923 A. D.

42 *Viśvaguṇādarśa-Campū*, pp. 54-66.

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मद्यास्वादनमत्तचित्तजनतामोहाय भीहानितः
कर्माण्यारभते श्रुति-स्मृतिवचोदूराण्यसाराण्यहो ॥ ९१ ॥

अपि च—

कन्यां कामप्युदूह्य प्रविजहदुदयद्यौवनामज्ञ एनां
द्रव्याशापाशकृष्टो भ्रमति चिरतरं हन्त देशान्तरेषु ।
अन्योन्याक्षिप्रवाञ्छाविगलितवयसोरात्तमालिन्यमत्यो—
र्दम्पत्योर्व्याकृतैवं हतविधिरुभयोर्लोकयोः शोकयोगम् ॥ ९२ ॥

अपि च—

नाऽधीतेऽत्र जनो यदि कश्चिदधीते शते सहस्रे वा ।
दुस्तर्केषु श्राम्यति दूरीकुरुते श्रुति-स्मृतिसुतर्कान् ॥ ९३ ॥

At this Viśvāvasu tries to condone the actions of Brāhmaṇas of Kāśī by stating that this is due to the power and influence of the Kali Age, and says those still protect the Hindu temples and help the Brāhmaṇas, while serving under the cruel Turuṣka (Turks) kings, deserve to be respected. Compare:

किं च

ये कायस्थजनाश्च ये नृपसुता ये च द्विजाः शस्त्रिण—
स्ते यत्नादनुसृत्य निर्दयतया शुष्कांस्तुरुष्काधिपान् ।
देवान्भूमिसुरांश्च पान्ति कृतिनस्ते चेद्गृहेष्वासते
ब्राह्मण्याय जलाञ्जलिः किल भुवि प्राज्ञैः प्रदेयो भवेत् ॥ ९६ ॥

The lamentable condition of Kāśī tormented by the Yavanas is further indicated—

सर्वतो दृष्टिं प्रसार्य सश्लाघम्—

आक्रान्तासु वसुंधरासु यवनैरासेतुहैमाचलं
विद्राणे क्षितिभृद्गणे विकरुणे निद्राति नारायणे ।
निर्विघ्नप्रसरे कलावपि बलान्निष्कण्टकं वैदिकं
पन्थानं किल तत्र तत्र परिपात्येको हि लोकोत्तरः ॥ ९७ ॥

पुनः सश्लाघम्—

त्यजतु विहितमेतद्देशवासी निषिद्धं
भजतु तदपि लोके नास्ति धन्यस्तदन्यः ।
त्रियुगपदनखश्रीदत्तशुद्धिर्यदङ्गे
लगति दुरितभङ्गे लग्नको गाङ्गपूरः ॥ ९८ ॥
प्रौढेषु गौडेषु च कान्यकुब्जेष्वङ्गेषु वङ्गेषु च मैथिलेषु ।
अन्येषु सत्स्वेषु बुधेषु धन्येष्वद्यापि जीवन्त्यधिभूमि विद्याः ॥ ९९ ॥
× × × प्रातश्शीतजले निमज्ज्य विबुधानभ्यर्चयत्युच्चकै—
रार्यः पर्युषितं तु नाभ्यवहरत्यन्धः क्षुधान्धोऽप्यसौ ।
भागे गोमयलिप्त एव पचते भुङ्क्ते ततोऽन्यत्र य—
न्नीतं तद्विजहाति भुक्तिनियमो दृष्टः क्व भूयानियान् ॥ १०१ ॥

The above lengthy quotations will show that the Brānmaṇas at Kāsī could not confirm to the prescribed rules of conduct, mainly due to political

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Veda and smṛti are silent and which they observe with the consciousness that such practices are right.

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कृशानुः—किमेतद्देशवासिनोऽपि ब्राह्मणाः केवलं कलिमाहात्म्याकलितशास्त्रीयचर्याविपर्यया भवता नमस्क्रियन्ते ? पश्य तावत्प्रायेणास्य काशीदेशजनसुचर्याविपर्यासम् ॥ २४ ॥

शस्त्रैर्जीवति शास्त्रमुज्झति परं शूद्राहृतैरम्बुभिः
स्नात्याचामति देवताः स्नपयति स्वैरं पचत्योदनम् ।
उच्छिष्टान्न बिभेति याति यवनैरुच्चावचैः सङ्गतिं
मातङ्गान्निकटं गतानगणयन्मार्गान्मुहुर्गाहते ॥ ८९ ॥

किं च—

प्रातर्हन्त कृताप्लवोऽपि रजकस्पृष्टान्जडो रासभै—
रूढान् धारयते पटाननुदिनं धृत्वा बहिर्गच्छति ।
गत्वा म्लेच्छमुखाशुचीन्स्पृशति च स्पृष्ट्वापि न स्नात्यहो
न स्नातोऽप्यथ भुङ्क्त एष चपलो भुक्त्वापि न व्रीडति ॥ ९० ॥

अपि च—

नीचैर्दुर्यवनैः शुनीभिरपि वा निःशङ्कमालोकितं
भुङ्क्ते पङ्क्तिविदूषकैः सह नैरज्ञातवेदाक्षरैः ।

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मद्यास्वादनमत्तचित्तजनतामोहाय भीहानितः
कर्माण्यारभते श्रुति-स्मृतिवचोदूराण्यसाराण्यहो ॥ ९१ ॥

अपि च—

कन्यां कामप्युदूह्य प्रविजहदुदयद्यौवनामज्ञ एनां
द्रव्याशापाशकृष्टो भ्रमति चिरतरं हन्त देशान्तरेषु ।
अन्योन्यास्त्रिप्रवाञ्छाविगलितवयसोरात्तमालिन्यमत्यो—
र्दम्पत्योर्व्याकृतैवं हतविधिरुभयोर्लोकयोः शोकयोगम् ॥ ९२ ॥

अपि च—

नाऽधीतेऽत्र जनो यदि कश्चिदधीते शते सहस्रे वा ।
दुस्तर्केषु श्राम्यति दूरीकुरुते श्रुति-स्मृतिसुतर्कान् ॥ ९३ ॥

At this Viśvāvasu tries to condone the actions of Brāhmaṇas of Kāśī by stating that this is due to the power and influence of the Kali Age, and says those still protect the Hindu temples and help the Brāhmaṇas, while serving under the cruel Turuṣka (Turks) kings, deserve to be respected. Compare :

किं च

ये कायस्थजनाश्च ये नृपसुता ये च द्विजाः शस्त्रिण—
स्ते यत्नादनुसृत्य निर्दयतया शुष्कांस्तुरुष्काधिपान् ।
देवान्भूमिसुरांश्च पान्ति कृतिनस्ते चेद्वृहेष्वासते
ब्राह्मण्याय जलाञ्जलिः किल भुवि प्राज्ञैः प्रदेयो भवेत् ॥ ९६ ॥

The lamentable condition of Kāśī tormented by the Yavanas is further indicated—

सर्वतो दृष्टिं प्रसार्य सश्लाघम्—

आक्रान्तासु वसुंधरासु यवनैरासेतुहैमाचलं
विद्राणे क्षितिभृद्गणे विकरुणे निद्राति नारायणे ।
निर्विघ्नप्रसरे कलावपि बलान्निष्कण्टकं वैदिकं
पन्थानं किल तत्र तत्र परिपात्येको हि लोकोत्तरः ॥ ९७ ॥

पुनः सश्लाघम्—

त्यजतु विहितमेतद्देशवासी निषिद्धं
भजतु तदपि लोके नास्ति धन्यस्तदन्यः ।
त्रियुगपदनखश्रीदत्तशुद्धिर्यदङ्गे
लगति दुरितभङ्गे लग्नको गाङ्गपूरः ॥ ९८ ॥
प्रौढेषु गौडेषु च कान्यकुब्जेष्वङ्गेषु वङ्गेषु च मैथिलेषु ।
अन्येषु सत्स्वेषु बुधेषु धन्येष्वद्यापि जीवन्त्यधिभूमि विद्याः ॥ ९९ ॥
××× प्रातश्शीतजले निमज्ज्य विबुधानभ्यर्चयत्युच्चकै—
रार्यः पर्युषितं तु नाभ्यवहरत्यन्धः क्षुधान्धोऽप्यसौ ।
भागे गोमयलिप्त एव पचते भुङ्क्ते ततोऽन्यत्र य—
न्नीतं तद्विजहाति भुक्तिनियमो दृष्टः क भूयानियान् ॥ १०१ ॥

The above lengthy quotations will show that the Brānmaṇas at Kāsī could not confirm to the prescribed rules of conduct, mainly due to political

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conditions and hence even writers from the south, like Śrī Veṅkaṭādhvarī, made a plea for taking a very liberal view of their conduct. We can now very well understand that this question of *ācāra* was uppermost in the minds of Brāhmaṇas and Sannyāsins, not only in other parts of India, but also those living in Kāśī itself. It is for this reason that both Varadarāja and Dhuṇḍirāja introduced this problem cleverly in their text-books GPM. and GVM. and suggested a liberal outlook on such problems.

The Viśvaguṇādarśacampū contains such interesting cultural data about different parts of India in the seventeenth century and deserves proper notice at the hands of historians. In the Gurjaradeśavarṇana, for example, the text (pp. 73 ff) says that the young people of Gurjaradeśa used to wear costly ambara-garments, and enjoyed life in company of young ladies, with their lips red and shining with the chewing of betel-leaves with camphor etc. added to them, their bodies shining with costly jewelled ornaments and fragrant with the use of saffron. The beautiful forms of young ladies of Gurjaradeśa are praised. The men of Gujarat, however, leaving aside the delightful company of their charming wives, travel into far off lands in pursuit of trade and for earning jewels, riches etc. They are said to amass immense wealth in this way. The people of Mahārāṣṭra (text, pp. 83 ff), rich and being storehouses of good qualities, honour and serve their guests in good faith. Mahārāṣṭra is a beautiful country full of sweet waters of streams, rivulets, etc. and looking like heaven. The conduct of some Brāhmaṇas, however, is criticised by Kṛṣānū who says that they do not observe properly their duties of sandhyāvandana etc. and earn their living as *grāma-gaṇakas* (village accountants or village headmen etc.). Study of Yavanānī script (Arabic or Persian language) is resorted to instead of study of the Vedas—

× × ग्रामायव्ययलेखनेन नयतां कालानशेषानहो
पारम्पर्यत ईदृशामिह नृणां ब्राह्मण्यमन्यादृशम् ॥ १३५ ॥

The conduct of such Brāhmaṇas is further criticised in the following verse—

कुक्षेः पूर्त्यै यवननृपतेर्भृत्यकृत्यानि कर्तुम्
विक्रीणीते वपुरपि निजं वेतनैरेतदास्ताम् ।
विप्रो भूत्वाप्यहह गणनानैपुणैर्वञ्चयित्वा
स्वर्णस्तेयं रचयति जनः स्वामिनां पोषकाणाम् ॥ १३६ ॥

× × × × वेदव्यासः स इह दश यो वेद वेदाक्षराणि
श्लोकं त्वेकं परिपठति यः स स्वयं जीव एव ।
आपस्तम्बः स किल कलयेत्सम्यगौपासनं यः
कष्टं शिष्टक्षतिकृति कलौ कार्श्यमृच्छन्ति विद्याः ॥ १३८ ॥

Viśvāvasu replies that here in Mahārāṣṭra also there were a number of Brāhmaṇas well versed in Vedas and Vedic rites, who are Agnihotrins, who

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have knowledge of Ātman and who are pious souls living a spiritual life, having given up attachment to objects of senses, Brāhmaṇas who have mastered the Śrutis and purāṇas thoroughly, who are self-controlled, and who worship gods and avoid contact with Śudras. Again the twice-born who are behaving in certain ways need not be criticized for the following additional reason. The argument advanced reminds one of the famous saying, शिवाजी न होत तो सुन्नत होत सबकी. Compare—

चमूनियमनेन वा जनपदाधिकारेण वा
द्विजव्रज उपव्रजन्प्रभुवरं महाराष्ट्रजः ।
न वृत्तिमिह पालयेद्यदि धरासुराणां ततो
भवेद्यवनवेष्टितं भुवनमेतदब्राह्मणम् ॥ १४२ ॥

*　　　*　　　*

The same argument is advanced in favour of Kṣatriyas, non-Brahmins (or Marāṭhās) whose other misdeeds, noted in v. 143, should be excused and tolerated as they have saved the earth (*i.e.* Bhārata) tormented by the Mlecchas—

मायाच्छन्नतया भयावहगतिः प्रत्यर्थिपृथ्वीभुजां
महाराष्ट्रभटच्छटा रणपटुर्नोपर्यटास्यन्न चेत् ।
देवब्राह्मणवर्गनिग्रहकृतो देशान् तुरुष्का इमे
निष्प्रत्यूहमनोरथा वितनुयुर्निर्देवभूमीसुरान् ॥ १४४ ॥
देवक्षोणीसुरहितकृते दारितम्लेच्छपङ्क्ते—
र्ह्यां सह्या कथमपि महाराष्ट्रयूथस्य चेष्टा ।
व्याधिव्यूहप्रतिहतिकृतां व्यक्तमुग्रौषधानां
कायारोग्यप्रणयिहृदयैः काटवं मर्षणीयम् ॥ १४५ ॥

The Āndhradeśa (pp. 94 ff) is praised for its fishes, crocodiles etc., and for the people from various parts inhabiting it in order to earn their living. It is said that this land also has the demerits seen in the case of Mahārāṣṭra. But the devotion, of the Āndhra-people, to Gods (Viṣṇu and others) is so great that it does not matter at all if they do not perform sacrifices or study the Vedic lore. Besides the land, in the valleys of the rivers Godāvarī and Kṛṣṇā, was full of Śaiva shrines where sand-made (*saikata*) liṅgas of Śiva were worshipped, where Paṇḍits were well-versed in Vedic lore, logic, śāstras etc., and who were attached to the worship of Mukunda (Viṣṇu). Here too the Yavanas riding on swift chargers had demolished shrines of Śiva and Viṣṇu and the land was full of Yavanas from Turuṣka country.

The Karṇāṭa-deśa described next (Viśvaguṇādarśa-campū, pp. 100 ff) had beautiful gardens and forest-groves in each town or city, these groves were full of betel-nut trees with flowers and humming bees attracted towards the latter. The ladies, displaying amorous gestures and exciting passion, were enjoying the humming of bees in gardens and groves.

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But the land, according to Gandharva Kṛśānū, did not deserve so much praise, filled as it was with heretics (*pāṣaṇḍas*) having their bodies besmeared with ashes, bearing on their chests the phallus-symbol and, fierce as they were, they were antagonists of Veda and its followers. The land was a stronghold of the followers of Madhva. In the city of Rajatapura (modern Udupi) lived Ānandatīrtha (*Madhvācārya*), a great monk, who was the founder of this sect. Here in this land is the famous Yadu-śaila (Yadu-giri, modern Melkoṭe) where in ancient times was brought from Śveta-dvīpa, the white-earth (*Tirumaṇ* in Tamil) which the followers of the Rāmānuja sect (both Teṅgale and Vaḍahale sects) use for Tilaka-marks. Followers of the Mādhva-saṃgha are criticised, by Kṛśānū, for not practising the sandhyā at proper time, for giving up Gāyatrī-mantra and the sacred-thread while resorting to the fourth āśrama, and for the use of a Piṣṭa-paśu (an animal form made of dough of flour) instead of a real animal in sacrifice; these monks are criticised for riding on a palanquin and so on. At this Viśvāvasu gives a long defence of the Mādhvas who are Bhāgavatas devoted to Nārāyaṇa.

Descriptions like these can be added from the Viśvaguṇādarśa-Campū, but a critical study of the whole text would be out of place here. The above accounts are sufficient to show that in almost all parts of India, the presence of the Yavanas or Mlecchas was regarded as responsible for the defects in the observance of rules of right conduct prescribed for the twice-born.

The Brāhmaṇa Vājapeyī (GPM.) says that he had studied the four Vedas, along with Vedāṅgas (Vyākaraṇa, Jyotiṣa, Nirukta, Chandah-śāstra, Śikṣā and Kalpa), the six Darśanas (Vaiśeṣika, Tarka or Nyāya, Sāmkhya, Yoga, Mīmāṃsā and Vedānta). The latter are called upāṅgas in the text. Vājapeyī also studied Kāvya, Nāṭaka, Alamkāra, Smṛti and Saṅgīta. He is thus regarded as a Śrotriya by the Sannyāsin.

The Brāhmaṇa host Bhaṭṭācārya (in GVM.) was born in Gauḍadeśa. His father had gone to Gauḍadeśa to acquire learning. A question is asked as to what was the necessity of going to Gauḍadeśa when learning could be done in Kāśī. To this Bhaṭṭācārya replies that his father went there in order to acquire proficiency in Tarka or logic. This shows that Gauḍadeśa or Bengal was famous for its advancement in Nyāya. The Navadvīpa, Nadiā, was famous for its Navya-Nyāya. The Brāhmaṇa host (in GVM.) learnt from his father, first the Pañca-Prakaraṇas, or five Prakaraṇa-granthas *i. e.* elementary works, beginner's texts. Here looking to the context, they seem to be five works on Logic. They might have been Tarkasamgraha, with Dīpikā and Nīlakaṇṭhī, the Muktāvalī of Viśvanātha and the Dinakarī of Dinakara and Mahādeva. By Pañca-Prakaraṇa are generally meant the five elementary works on Nyāya, Vyākaraṇa, Mīmāṃsā, Vedānta and Sāhitya or Alaṅkāra-śāstra. Next the

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Brāhmaṇa host studied Cintāmaṇi of Gaṅgeśopādhyāya (c. 1175 A. D.), Śiromaṇi of Raghunātha (c. 1300 A. D.), Mathurānāthī (*i. e.* Tattvadīdhiti-Ṭīkā of Mathurānātha, c. 1580 A. D.), Bhāvānandī (Tattvadīdhiti-ṭikā by Bhavānanda c, 1600 A. D.) and works of Pakṣadhara-Miśra and others (*Miśrāntāh granthāh*). The works studied by the sannyāsin Trivikramāśrama (in GPM.) are listed on text pp. 9-11, with footnotes about their authors, dates etc. They need not be repeated here. But the different lists in GPM. and GVM. are important as they provide for us lists of texts books in different subjects studied by students and scholars in order to obtain proficiency in the different branches of studies. The sannyāsin Trivikramāśrama does not appear to have studied all these texts, he does not even speak correct Sanskrit, *e.g.*, *Tilābhāṇḍeśvara* for *Tilabhāṇḍeśvara*, *anādhyāya* for *anadhyāya*, and *mādhūkaram* for *mādhukaram*. The character of Trivikramāśrama, in GPM., is a satire on some of the sannyāsins, of this age, who were hypocrites and pretended to have been learned paṇḍits.

Emphasis is laid (by the author of GPM., p. 6) on the desirability of obtaining knowledge of grammar and it is said that those who, disregarding grammar, study other sciences (*darśanas*), are misguided people (*bhrāntāh*). It may be remembered that Varadarāja, the author, was himself a grammarian of repute.

Varadabhaṭṭa strongly deprecates those who are attached to mere dialectical disputations, those who are sceptics. This view is supported with citations from various ancient texts (cf. for example, तर्काप्रतिष्ठानादिति व्याससूत्रम्। नैषा तर्केण मतिरापनेया इति श्रुतिः। and so on). This has been the Hindu ideal from Vedic age to this day, and Varadabhaṭṭa wanted to warn his students against undue emphasis on Tarka. It is not improbable that his attack was somewhat directed against Bengal Pandits of the Navya-Nyāya. It must also be remembered that the Kāśī-Paṇḍits also attacked the Vaṅga-Brāhmaṇas who did not properly respect the authority of Vedas or Śrutis, cf. Dhuṇḍirāja, in GVM. (p. 30)—xxxवङ्गदेशीया ब्राह्मणाः केवलं वेदबाह्या भवन्ति। xxx तत्रस्था ब्राह्मणाः स्मृतिप्रामाण्येन वर्त्तन्ते। न तु वेदाध्ययनं कुर्वन्ति।

Emphasis was laid on liberal education and general knowledge. The education of a Brahmin scholar was not complete with the knowledge of Vedas, Vedāṅgas and Vedānta. The GPM. as well as GVM. show that besides these the Brāhmaṇas also studied Lexicons, Grammar, Pūrva-mīmāṃsā, Epics and Purāṇas, Prosody, Poetics, Dramas and other forms of literature, Āyurveda and Saṅgīta.[43]

Banaras has been noted as a seat of learning from ancient times. Takṣaśilā as a seat of learning declined in circa third century A.D. Banaras and

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[43] Discussion of the references to Asat-khān, Zulfikāra-khān etc. is not repeated in this introduction as Dr. P. K. Gode has already given it in his papers cited before.

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Nalanda seem to attain more importance since then. It must however be remembered that there was no organised institution like that of Nalanda at Banaras. In the seventh century Hiuen-Tsang was struck with the devotion of Banaras to learning.[43a] The great Śaṅkarācārya and other dignitaries had to go to Banaras to get their views and theories accepted by the world of scholars. There were a large number of famous scholars at Banaras who must have been giving tuition to a number of students. We have already referred to the *Ukti-Vyakti-Prakaraṇa* of Pandit Dāmodara (c. 1150 A.D.) composed for teaching purposes at Banaras. The Gāhaḍwāla grants do not refer to any colleges or temple colleges, though among the donees of these grants there are some who belonged to the families of hereditory Pandits. An Encyclopaedic work, Kṛtya-kalpataru of Lakṣmīdhara, was composed by a minister of the Gāhaḍwāla court. This shows the extent of learning of Pandits at Banaras. That Banaras was a recognized centre of Hindu religion, learning and culture is also shown by Kṛṣnamiśra's reference to it in his Prabodhacandrodaya. Kullūkabhaṭṭa composed his famous commentary on Manu-smṛti at Kāśī.

Very little is known about writing and literary activity at Kāśī during the troubled times between c. 1200-1500 A.D. But from the 16th century again there seems to have been a great revival. As shown by Altekar, and Gode* several learned families from Mahārāṣṭra and Karṇāṭaka came and settled down permanently at Banaras by the beginning of the 16th century. Dharmādhikārī Śeṣa, Bhaṭṭa and Mauni were the chief amongst them. Nanda Paṇḍita the famous author of *Dattaka-Mīmāṁsā* (c. 1570-1630 A.D.) was a member of the Dharmādhikārī family coming to Banaras from Bidar in the south. Khaṇḍerāya, another member of this family composed in this age, a work on Dharma-śāstra, entitled *Paraśurāma-prakāśa*.

Śeṣa Viṣṇu wrote an elaborate commentary on the Mahābhāṣya in the 16th century. Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa, the author of many works, lived towards the close of this century. He wrote seven works on grammar (*Padacandrikā*, *Prakriyā-prakāśa*, *Prākṛtacandrikā*, *Śabdālaṁkāra*, *Sphoṭatattva* etc.), three on Kāvya (*Kaṁsavadha*, *Pārijātaharaṇacampū*, and *Murārivijayanāṭaka*) and one on Dharmaśāstra (*Śūdrācāraśiromaṇī*). His brother Cintāmaṇi composed several works including *Rasamañjarī-parimala*. Vīreśvara, a son of Kṛṣṇa, was the preceptor of the famous Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja, the author of *Rasagaṅgādhara* etc. He was also the teacher of Bhaṭṭojī Dīkṣita, the famous author of *Siddhānta-kaumudī*, as also the teacher of Annambhaṭṭa, the author of *Tarkasaṁgraha*.

[43a] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II. p. 47.

* The account following here is summarised from Altekar, A. S., *History of Banaras*, pp. 39 ff. and from the three volumes of Studies in Literary History by Dr. P. K. Gode.

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Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, the author of *Prayoga-ratna*, *Tristhalīsetu* etc., belonged to the Bhaṭṭa family which migrated to Banaras in the latter half of the 16th century. He reerected the temple of Viśvanātha, in c. 1585 A.D., on its old site. His son Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa wrote *Dvaitanirṇaya*, *Vratamayūkha* and *Gādhivaṁśānucaritakāvya*. Nīlakaṇṭha, the son of Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa, composed in the first half of the 17th century, the famous work *bhagavantabhāskara* consisting of twelve *mayūkhas* dealing with different topics of Dharmaśāstra. Nīlakaṇṭha's cousin Kamalākarabhaṭṭa composed *Nirṇayasindhu*, another famous Dharmaśāstra work frequently consulted by modern Pandits. Raghunātha, another member of this family composed *Gotrapravaranirṇaya* and *Kālatattvavivecana*. Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa, alias Gāgābhaṭṭa, composed several works on Mīmamsā and Dharmaśāstra.

Raṅgojī Dīkṣita, a brother of Bhaṭṭojī Dīkṣita composed *Advaitacintāmaṇi* and *Advaitaśāstrasāroddhāra*. His son Koṇḍabhaṭṭa, a famous grammarian, composed *Vaiyākaraṇabhūṣaṇa*.

Besides Brāhmaṇa families and pandits from Mahārāṣṭra and Karṇāṭaka many others had either migrated to Banaras or spent some years in Banaras for study and carried writing activity also.

Mahīdhara, the son of Fanubhaṭṭa, the son of Ratnākara of Vatsakula at Ahicchatrā, had migrated to Banaras, in the sixteenth century. He was the author of *Vedadīpa*, *Mantramahodadhi*, *Kātyāyanaśulvasūtrabhāṣya* etc. His son Kalyāṇa composed a work on medicine called *Bālatantra*, in A.D. 1587. Vijñānabhikṣu, the author of Sāmkhya-bhāṣya (A.D. 1525-1600) had a pupil named Bhāva Gaṇeśa. This Bhāva Gaṇeśa was the leader of Citpāvana Brāhmaṇas at Banaras, who signed a Nirṇayapatra in 1583 A.D., as shown by Dr. Gode. Appaya Dīkṣita (c. 1550-1660 A.D.), the famous author of *Parimala*, *Citramīmāṁsā* and a number of other works also stayed at Banaras for sometime.

Kavīndrācārya Sarasvatī whose successful intervention with Emperor Shah Jahan (1628-1658 A.D.) resulted in the abolition of pilgrim tax at Banaras is another great Pandit of Banaras in the 17th century. Śivadatta, the author of *Śivakośa* was his contemporary. Kavīndrācārya was a very learned Pandit and the head of the Pandits of his times at Banaras. The title of '*Sarvavidyānidhāna*' was conferred on him by Emperor Shah Jahan. His taste for learning is proved by his wonderful collection of manuscripts, an old list of which, fortunately recovered, is published as *Kavīndrācāryasūcīpatra*, as Gaekwad's Oriental Series Vol. XVII. This list shows, incidentally, the various branches of learning in which Pandits at Banaras were interested. Kavīndrācārya seems to have hailed from the Deccan. For a list of several Banaras Pandits who were contemporaries of Kavindrācārya, see, Gode *Studies in Indian Literary History*, Vol. II, p. 366n.

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Nīlakaṇṭha Caturdhara, the celebrated commentator of Mahābhārata, flourished at Banaras between A.D. 1650 and 1700.

The great Mīmāmsaka Khaṇḍadeva (c. 1600-1665 A.D.), author of *Bhāṭṭadīpikā*, *Mīmāmsākaustubha* etc., also flourished at Banaras.

Lakṣmaṇa Paṇḍita (c. 1663 A.D.), son of Datta-sūri (of Kauṇḍinyakula) and Gojā (of Ātreyakula) of Banaras, was the author of *Advaitasudhā*. He also wrote a commentary called *Sāracandrikā* on *Rāghavapāṇḍavīya*. Gaṇeśa and Raghunātha were his elder brothers, Nāgeśa and Nārāyaṇa were his maternal uncles. Uttamaśloka, the author of *Laghuvārtika-ṭīkā* and Rāmāśrama (possibly son of Bhaṭṭojī Dīkṣita) were his teachers. Lakṣmaṇa also wrote *Yogacandrikā*, a treatise on materia medica.

Harideva Miśra, author of *Śṛṅgārasañjīvanī* was born and lived at Mathurā, but had later migrated to Banaras. He lived sometime before c. 1650 A.D.

Ratnākara, the author of *Jayasimha-kalpadruma* (c. 1713 A.D.) was the son of Devabhaṭṭa of Śāṇḍilya gotra, resident of Banaras. Ratnākara was well-versed in Śrauta sacrifices. Viśveśvara Mahāśabda, the author of *Nirṇayakaustubha*, and *Pratāpārka* was the great grandson of Ratnākarabhaṭṭa.

Varadarāja and Dhuṇḍirāja, the authors of GPM. and GVM. respectively, are already noted before, as having resided at Kāśī.

Nīlakaṇṭha Śukla composed his *Cīmanī-caritra*, at Banaras in A.D. 1656. This work refers to Allāh Vardī Khān Turkamān, who, along with his son, was put to death by Dārā's brother Shujā. Nīlakaṇṭha Śukla also composed, in A.D. 1637, a work on grammar entitled *Śabda-śobhā*. For Dārā's contacts with Banaras Pandits, see, Gode, *Studies In Indian Literary History*, Vol. II, pp. 438 ff.

The *Padyāmṛtataraṅgiṇī* was completed by Bhāskara Agnihotrī at Banaras on 12th June, 1673, as shown by Dr. Gode. Vāmana Paṇḍita, a Marāthī scholar of the latter half of the seventeenth century who translated into Marāthī verse the Gangālaharī (of Jagannātha), studied Persian at Bījāpur and Sanskrit at Banaras.

In the sixteenth century Banaras made some famous contributions in Vedānta. Narasimhāśrama wrote *Advaitadīpikā* and *Tattvaviveka*. Vallabhācārya wrote his famous *Aṇubhāṣya*, spent his last days at Banaras and died at Hanumān-ghāṭ. *Advaitasiddhi* was composed at Banaras by Madhusūdana Sarasvatī.

Rāmānanda, one of the famous Vaiṣṇava reformers and saint, flourished in Banaras during the 14th century, and used to live near Pañcagaṅgā ghāṭ. During the next century flourished the famous saints and poets Kabīra and Raidāsa. Kabīra was soon followed by Tulsidāsa, the famous saint and author of *Rāmacaritamānasa*. He carried on his literary activities at Banaras.

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Geographical Data

Incidentally, the GPM. gives us a list of the differents *ghāṭas* (built banks, with steps leading to the river-water) on the Ganges at Kāśī in that age. Dr. Gode in his earlier paper on the GPM. (referred to before) quoted the whole passage. These were the ghāṭas near which most of the Brāhmaṇa population of Kāśī lived. Of these, one of the most ancient sites is the (1) *Rāja-ghaṭṭa*,[44] modern Rājghāṭa area, where an ancient site of Kāśī has been excavated, and where beautiful terracottas and seals of the pre-Gupta Gupta and later periods were discovered and where habitation layers date from Pre-Mauryan periods. The other ghāṭas are: (2) *Go-ghaṭṭa*,[45] (3) *Trilocana-ghaṭṭa*,[46] (4) *Brahma-ghaṭṭa*,[47] (5) *Durgā-ghaṭṭa*,[48] (6) *Bindu-Mādhava-ghaṭṭa*,[49] (7) *Maṅgalā-Gaurī-ghaṭṭa*,[50] (8) *Rāma-ghaṭṭa*,[51] (9) *Agnīśvara-ghaṭṭa*,[52] (10) *Nāgeśvara-ghaṭṭa*,[53] (11) *Vīreśvara-ghaṭṭa*, (12) *Siddhi-Vināyaka-g.*,[54] (13) *Jarāsandha-g.*[55] (this is now known as *Mīraghāṭa*, repaired or rebuilt by Mīra Rustam Ali) (12) *Vṛddhāditya-g.*,[56] (now not known), (13) *Someśvara-g.*,[57] (now not traceable), (14) *Sarveśvara-g.*,[58] (not traceable) (15) *Catuḥṣaṣṭi-yoginī-g.*,[59] (now known as Cosaṭṭī-ghāṭ), (16) *Daśāśvamedha-g.*,[60], (famous, like the *Maṇikarṇikā-ghāṭ*), and (17) *Kedāreśvara-ghaṭṭa*.[61] Besides certain localities are mentioned which may or may not have had ghāṭas of the same name; they are: (18) *Svargadvāra-praveśa*,[62] (19) *Mokṣadvāra-praveśa*[63]. (20)

44–51 Neither these ghāṭas nor the shrines from which they received their names are mentioned in the Tīrthakāṇḍa of Kṛtyakalpataru of Lakṣmīdhara. Only a Rāmaliṅga is mentioned, cf. *Kṛtyakalpataru, Tīrthakāṇḍa* (*G. O. S. Vol. XCVIII*), p. 113. Trilocana-ghaṭṭa is however mentioned in a Gāhaḍwāla grant, see, Altekar, A. S., *History of Benaras*, p. 28.

52 Mentioned by Lakṣmīdhara (*op. cit.*, pp. 66, 71) as the name of a shrine.

53–54 Not mentioned by Lakṣmīdhara.

55 A *Jarāsandheśvara* shrine is mentioned by Lakṣmīdhara, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

56 *Kṛtyakalpataru, Tīrthakāṇḍa* does not refer to this ghāṭ or temple.

57 Temple of Someśvara at Kāśī, ref. to by Lakṣmīdhara, in *Kṛtyakalpataru, Tīrthakāṇḍa*, p. 98.

58 Not ref. to by Lakṣmīdhara.

59 Not mentioned by Lakṣmīdhara.

60 Daśāśvamedhika-liṅga, mentioned by Lakṣmīdhara, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

61 Not mentioned by Lakṣmīdhara but occurs in grants of Gāhaḍwāla rulers, see, Altekar, A. S., *History of Benaras*, p. 28.

62–63 Svargadvāra and Mokṣadvāra not mentioned by Lakṣmīdhara but Svargeśvara and Mokṣeśvara mentioned, *op. cit.*, pp. 48, 112.

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Gaṅgā-keśava[64] (temple) area, (21) *Māna* (*or Mānasa?*)—*Sarovara*[65] (lake) area, (22) *Rāmeśvara* (temple)[66] area, in the *Pañcakośī*,[67] (23) *Lolārka-kuṇḍa*[68] area on the *Assighāṭa* (24) *Asi-saṁgama*[69] (now known as Assi-ghāṭa (25) *Varuṇā-saṁgama*[70] (*Barṇā-saṁgama*, where at present is the temple of Ādikeśvara). In the Bindu-Mādhava-ghāṭa area were also temples of *Pañca-Gaṅgeśvara, Lakṣmī-Nṛsiṁha, Ādi-Viśveśvara, Dakṣeśvara, Dugdha-Vināyaka* and *Kāla-Bhairava*.

For a modern account of the different Ghāṭas of Benaras, see E. B. Havell's *Benares, the Sacred City* (Bombay & London, 1905), and *Bhārata-bhramaṇa* (Hindi), Vol. I (Veṅkateśvara Press, Bombay, V.S. 1966).

Asi is a tolerably wide stream (about 40 ft.) in the rainy season, but is

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64–65 Not mentioned by Lakṣmīdhara.

66 Rāma-liṅga mentioned by Lakṣmīdhara, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

67 Pañcakośī or Pañcakrośī. The now famous via sacra of Benaras, the fifty miles long Pañcakrośī and the obligation to make its perambulation annually are not mentioned at all by Lakṣmīdhara. The Pañcakrośī tradition seems to be later than the age of Lakṣmīdhara (*i.e.* later than c. 12th cent. A.D.). Also see, Kane, P. V., *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. IV, pp. 637 ff.

68 Lolārka-kuṇḍa might have been near the shrine of Lolārka, referred to in the Liṅgapurāṇa quoted by Lakṣmīdhara (*op. cit.*, p. 34):—

पिङ्गला नाम या नाडी आग्नेयी सा प्रकीर्तिता ।
शुष्का सरिच्च सा ज्ञेया लोलार्को यत्र तिष्ठति ॥

K. V. Rangasvamī Aiyangar, editor of Tīrthakāṇḍa, (G. O. S. Vol. XCVIII), in his Intro. (p. lxxi) writes:—"The Sun is worshipped at an ancient shrine named Lolārka near the confluence of Asī, and even now an annual *melā* draws worshippers to a well near it. Originally, the shrine was probably one of Śiva, and known as Lolārkeśvara." The shrine of Lolārka is ref. to in a grant of Govindacandra, dated in 1208 V.S.=1151 A.D. (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. V. p. 117).

69–70 Asī is the same as the śuṣkā river mentioned by Liṅgapurāṇa, quoted above in ft. note 68. The southern boundary of Benaras once extended at least up to the confluence of Asī and Ganges (see, *Indian Culture*, Vol. II. p. 148). Vārāṇasī derived its name from the two rivers Varaṇā and Asi, being situated in the area between the two rivers. Cf:—

ब्रह्मपुराणे—

वरणा चाप्यसिश्चैव द्वे नद्यौ सुखल्लभे ।
अन्तराले तयोः क्षेत्रं धरण्यां न विशेत् क्वचित् ॥

मत्स्यपुराणे—

XX वरणा च नदी यावद्यावच्छुष्कनदी भवेत् ।
एष क्षेत्रस्य विस्तारः प्रोक्तो देवेन धीमता ॥

Quoted in *Tīrthakāṇḍa*, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

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dry at other times. "The shrine of Lolārka is situated at the confluence of Asi (the southern boundary of Banaras) with the Ganges. "—*History of Dharma-śāstra*, IV., p. 634.

The shrine of Bindu-Mādhava or the ghāṭa of the name are not referred to by Lakṣmīdhara, nor does he mention Pañça-Gaṅgeśvara, Lakṣmī-Nṛsīmha, Dugdha-Vināyaka or Kāla-Bhairava shrines. However, a shrine of Vināyaka near Vināyaka-kuṇḍa is referred to by the Liṅgapurāṇa, quoted by Lakṣmīdhara, *op. cit.*, p. 53, so also the shrine of Dakṣeśvara, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

History of Banaras has been discussed by Altekar and others. By the twelfth century A.D. Vārāṇasī became the premier *kṣetra* of India. Alberuni in the early eleventh century noted that piligrims in thousands from all over India were attracted to this holy site (Sachau, Alberuni's India, II, p. 146). The Gāhaḍawāla rulers took pride in calling themselves protectors of Kaśī, Kuśika, Indraprastha and Ayodhyā, even more than as kings of Kanauja (*vide*, Indian Antiquary, XVIII, pp. 9-14). Lakṣmīdhara, the author of Kṛtyakalpataru refers to his contemporary ruler and patron king Govindacandra as Kāśīpati. Many of the Gāhaḍwāla grants were issued from Kaśī. " Rājaghāṭ, now at the northern end of the city, was in all probability the ward in which kings of the dynasty dwelt. This would explain more convincingly than an assumption of Vaiṣṇava leanings of the electic kings of a city dedicated to Śiva, the circumstance that many of the gifts, recorded in the grants of not only Govindacandra, but of his father Madanapāla, and his grandfather Candradeva, and his grandson Jayacandra, were made at the ancient shrine of Keśava, at the confluence of Varaṇā and the Ganges, at the northern edge of the fort at Rājghaṭ." [71]

Some of the grants show that they were made at shrines in Kāśī dedicated to Śiva, like Vedeśvara, Trilocaneśvara, Aghoreśvara, Kṛttivāseśvara, Indreśvara, Omkāreśvara, Svapneśvara or to Sūrya like Lolārka, at the confluence of the Asi and the Ganges at the south end of the city. About three hundred and forty shrines and holy kuṇḍas etc. are named at Kāśī by Lakṣmīdhara in his Tīrthakāṇḍa. He probably gave an exhaustive survey. Some of the names mentioned by him, mostly in passages quoted from the earlier Liṅgapurāṇa text used by him, could be found on the seals discovered from Rājaghāṭ, which, as I understand, are discussed by Dr. V. S. Agrawal in an illuminating paper yet to be published. A few are discussed by V. S. Pathak in JNSI, Vol. XIX, part 2 and Vol. XX, part 1. " Many shrines, which Lakṣmīdhara has not mentioned, came to view or were erected after his time, and are noticed in the works of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa and Mitra-Miśra. " [72]

[71] K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, *Intro. to Tīrthakāṇḍa*, p. lxvii. Also see *Bhandarkar's List of Northern Inscriptions, No. 222.*

[72] K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, *op cit.*, Intro. p. lxx. Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa's

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A comparison of the accounts in the Liṅgapurāṇa (which Lakṣmīdhara uses) and in later purāṇas like the Kāśīkhaṇḍa and the Brahmavaivarta, which writers of the 16th century onwards use, shows that names of shrines, or the idols therein have changed, or new shrines have come into being while several older ones have been forgotten. [73] Lakṣmīdhara mentions (*op. cit.*, p. 126), on the authority of the Liṅgapurāṇā, five Vināyakas, in Kāśī. In the Kāśīkhaṇḍa their number has gone up to 56. It is possible that even the shrines in the Liṅgapurāṇa quotations could not be correctly located by Lakṣmīdhara in the 12th century. Mitra-miśra writing later omits a number of *liṅgas* of this earlier list.

Lakṣmīdhara generally refers to Banaras as Avimuktā or Vārāṇasī and only once as Kāśī. Śive was worshipped as Avimukteśvara. In later accounts based on Kāśīkhaṇḍa, the chief shrine in Banaras is declared to be that of Viśveśvara. [74] The Ādi-Viśveśvara referred to in GPM. may be either this Viśveśvara or the Avimukteśvara. The Tīrthacintāmaṇi, p. 360, however, states: अविमुक्तश्मशानोभयसंज्ञके क्षेत्रे शिवस्थापितं अविमुक्तेश्वरं लिङ्गं विश्वनाथनाम्ना लोकप्रसिद्धम्। According to K. V. Rangasvamī Aiyangar, "in the twelfth century there was indeed a shrine of Viśveśvara, but judging from Lakṣmīdhara's allusions, it was only one of the many holy places in the sacred area, with no superior sanctity as compared with others. This preeminence is given to the svayambhū liṅga of Avimukteśvara, which had revealed itself by piercing its way through the ground (Tīrthakāṇḍa, p. 41). Of the three mentions of Viśveśvara in the Kṛtya-kalpataru (Tīrthakāṇḍa, p. 17), one is probably an interpolation, as it occurs in only one manuscript, the second (*op. cit.*, p. 27) merely refers to Śiva or Avimukteśvara descriptively as 'Lord of the Universe', and the third (*op. cit.*, p. 93) makes it an ordinary *liṅga*, whose *darśana* confers a lower benefit than *mukti*. Viśveśvara had, however, come into prominence before the fifteenth century, when Vācaspati Miśra wrote (Tīrthacintāmaṇi, p. 360), as he reconciled the new cult of Viśveśvara with the older of Avimukteśvara by identifying the two, as both were represented as the lords of Kāśī." [75] The shrine of Viśveśvara was destroyed at least twice before Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa induced Toḍarmal

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Kāśī-rahasya-prakāśa (c. 1560 A.D.), probably extract from *Trī-sthalīsetu*; and Mitra-Miśra's *Tīrtha-prakāśa* in his *Vīramitrodaya*, composed in c. 1620 A.D.

[73] Also see, Mm. Kane, P. V., *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. IV., pp. 631 ff.

[74] Mm. P. V. Kane writes (*Hist. of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. IV, p. 633) "It appears that Vācaspati holds that Avimukteśvara liṅga is the same as Viśvanātha but both Tristhalī-setu (p. 296) and Tīrthaprakāśa (p. 187) reject the idea. The Skanda Purāṇa, Kāśī-khaṇḍa, 10.93, mentions Viśveśvara and Avimukteśvara as separate *liṅgas*."

[75] K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, *op. cit.*, Introduction, p. lxxiii.

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to reconstruct it in c. 1586 A.D.[76] Even this temple was desecrated before December, 1669, as shown by P. V. Kane, on the evidence of a passage from Ma-A'sir-i-A'lamgiri (Elliot and Dawson, History of India, Vol. VII, p. 184).[77] After Aurangzeb pulled down the temple of Viśvanātha, there was no shrine of Visvanātha for about a hundred years. The present temple of Viśvanātha was built in the last quarter of the 18th century by Shrimati Ahalyābāi Holkar.[78]

Besides worshipping Viśvanātha, every pilgrim has to visit five Tīrthas or holy places (Pañca-tīrthī) at Banaras. According to Matsya-Purāṇa, the five essential tīrthas in the Ānandakānana of Viśveśvara are: Daśāśvamedha, Lolārka, Keśava, Bindu Mādhava and Maṇikarṇikā.[79] In modern times, according to the tradition of Skanda-Purāṇa, Kāśī-khaṇḍa (16, 110 and 114, quoted by Tristhalī-setu, p. 261), the Pañca-tīrthī comprises the confluence of the Asi with the Ganges, the Daśāśvamedha-ghāṭa, Maṇikarṇikā, the Pañcagangā ghāṭa and the confluence of the river Varaṇā with the Ganges. The Lolārka temple is situated at the confluence of Asi with the Ganges. The Daśāśvamedha-ghāṭa, famous for several centuries, derived this name, according to K. P. Jayaswal, on account of its being the site of ceremonial baths taken by Bhāraśiva emperors at the end of ten Aśvamedha sacrifices.[80] The Maṇikarṇikā, also called Mukti-kṣetra, is the most holy among all Banaras tīrthas or ghāṭs.[81] Near the Maṇikarṇikā pool is the temple of Tārakeśvara so named because it is believed that Lord Śiva whispers the *tāraka-mantra* in the ears of a dying man brought to the sacred pool. It is supposed that five rivers—Kiraṇā, Dhūtapāpā, Gangā, Yamunā and Sarasvatī—meet here, four rivers being, of course,

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[76] Kutubdin Aibak destroyed about 1,000 temples in 1194 A.D. (Elliot and Dawson's History of India, II, p. 222). Alauddin Khilji boasted that he had destroyed one thousand temples in Banaras alone. For reconstruction by Todar Mal, see, Altekar, A. S., *History of Banaras*, pp. 47-48.

[77] Mm. Kane, P. V., *History of Dharmaśāstra*, IV. p. 632.

[78] Altekar, A. S., *History of Banaras*, p. 57.

[79] तीर्थानां पञ्चकं सारं विश्वेशानन्दकानने । दशाश्वमेधं लोलार्कः केशवो बिन्दुमाधवः । पञ्चमी तु महाश्रेष्ठा प्रोच्यते मणिकर्णिका । एभिस्तु तीर्थवर्यैश्च वर्ण्यते ह्यविमुक्तकम् ॥ *Matsya-Purāṇa*, 185. 68-69.

[80] Jayaswal, K. P., *History of India* (*150 A.D.-350 A.D.*), p. 5. The Kāśīkhaṇḍa says that formerly this tīrtha was called Rudrasaras.

[81] For different derivations of the name, cited from various sources, see, Mm. Kane, P. V., *op. cit.*, p. 635. *Maṇikarṇi-devī* and a *Maṇikarṇī-tīrtha* at Kāśī are referred to by Liṅgapurāṇa, quoted by Lakṣmīdhara, *op. cit.*, p. 103. It would indeed be worth while investigating whether the Maṇikarṇi-devī and Maṇikarṇi-tīrtha can be associated with the Maṇis or Māṇis discussed by Shah, U. P., Geographical Evidence in the Kāśyapa Saṁhitā, Journ. of Oriental Institute, Vol. VII. no. 4, pp. 292-293.

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invisible.[82] It is said that this tīrtha was named variously as Dharmanada, Dhūtapātaka, Bindu-tīrtha and Pañcanada in the Kṛta and the following yugas respectively. The confluence of Ganges and the Varaṇā river marks the northern boundary of Vārāṇasī and its ghāṭas.

Several ghāṭas of Banaras have been referred to in different puranic accounts, in our texts (GPM. and GVM.) and in copperplate grants of the Gāhaḍawāla rulers of Kanauja (between c. 1097 and 1187 A.D.). Of these some have already been referred to before. Most of the Gāhaḍwāla rulers—Candradeva, Madanapāla, Govindacandra, and Jayacandra—have made land grants at the holy Ādi-keśava ghāṭa,[83] probably because they were Vaiṣṇavites. Vedeśvara-ghāṭa near the Ādikeśava-g., Trilocana-g. in Adampura, Aghoreśvara temple near the Viśvanātha temple, Svapneśvara ghāṭa near Kedāra-g., and Lolārka temple at the confluence of Asi and the Ganges, are among other holy places where the Gāhaḍwāla rulers have given grants to temples and Brāhmaṇas.[84] Kṛttivāseśvara temple mentioned in a grant of Jayacandra was in Daranagar,[85] it probably fell a victim to the wrath of Aurangzeb. The Kapālamocana-ghāṭa is also referred to in a grant of the 12th century.[86] Now a ghāṭa and a tank near the Rājaghāṭa station is known by that name. There exists a temple, near this tank dedicated to Kapālamocaneśvara. Koṭitīrtha is another place where king Govindacandra took his bath before making one of his grants.[87] Temples of Pañcomkāra, Aghoreśvara, Indramādhava, and Laudeśvara are mentioned in a grant of Govindacandra, but only the first two can be identified at present[88]. As Dr. Altekar has noted it, even though scores of land grants made by Gāhaḍwāla princes in presence of different gods of Banaras have been discovered so far,

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[82] *Skanda Purāṇa, Kāsī-khaṇḍa*, Chp. 59 deals at length with this Pañcananda-tīrtha.

[83] Candradeva's grant of V. S. 1156 (*Ep. Ind.* XIV. p. 197); Madanapāla's grant of V.S. 1164 (*J.R.A.S.*, 1896, p. 787); Govindacandra's grants of V.S. 1181 and 1188 (*J.A.S.B.* LVI, pt. 1, p. 114 and *Ind. Ant.* XIX, p. 249); Kamauli grant of Vijayacandra No. O., *Ep. Ind.*, IV. p. 115; *Bhandarkar's List of Northern Inscriptions No. 222.*

[84] See, *Ep. Ind.*, IV. p. 114; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII. p. 114; *Ep. Ind.*, VIII. pp. 113, 114, 117. Also see Altekar, A. S., *op. cit.* p. 28.

[85] Altekar, A. S., *Op. cit.*, p. 128, *Ep. Ind.* IV. p. 125. Also referred to in *Liṅgapurāṇa*, quoted by Lakṣmīdhara, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

[86] *Ep. Ind.* IV. p. 110. Also in Liṅgapurāṇa, quoted by Lakṣmīdhara, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

[87] *Ep. Ind.* VII. p. 159, *Ep. Ind.* VIII. p. 149. Also ref. to in Liṅgapurāṇa, quoted by Lakṣmīdhara, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

[88] *Ep. Ind.*, VIII. p. 149, Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

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only one is seen being made in presence and after the worship of Viśvanātha[89].

Dr. Altekar has discussed the sites of temples of Veṇī-Mādhava, Viśvanātha etc. in his History of Benares, which need not be repeated here. Whether Bindhu-Mādhava (of our texts) and Veṇi-Mādhava were identical or different is not known. We have already referred to the views of K. V. Rangaswamy Aiyangar and Mm. P. V. Kane on temples of Avimukteśvara and Viśveśvara. Incidentally we may refer to the remarks of A. S. Altekar who writes : " The Purāṇas describe the Cakrapuṣkariṇī or Maṇikarṇikā tīrtha as situated on the bank of the river, but they do not refer to the temple of Viśvanātha by its side. Yuan Chwang also refers to the principal temple of Benares as having a huge image about a hundred feet in height, but he is silent as to its site and size. "[90] He further refers to the present temple Ādi-Viśveśvara to the north-west of the Jñāna-vāpi mosque of Aurangzeb on the other side of the Lala Lajpatrai Road but does not agree with the inferrence that the original shrine of Viśvanātha of the Hindu period stood at this place, nor does he support the view that Ādi-Viśveśvara and Viśvanātha could have been identical.[91] Altekar has further shown that the temple of Viśvanātha was very probably pulled down several times between 1194 and 1669 A. D. He further refers to the *Trīsthalī-setu*, of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa (composed sometime about 1585 A.D.), which says, " it is true that according to the exigencies of the situation the *liṅga* of Viśvanātha is sometimes removed from the temple and then again brought back to it. If such is the case, the pilgrim should offer worship to whatever *liṅga* may be standing in its place. It may even happen that owing to the action of the intolerable Mlecchas there may be no *liṅga* whatsoever at the place ; one should in that case offer one's salutations etc. to its site. This will be sufficient for the completion of the pilgrimages. *Abhiṣeka* etc., which require an image, would of course not be possible."[92] It is interesting to note that, even though both the GPM. and the GVM. refer to the Maṇikarṇikā, and each state that the Brāhmaṇa host took his bath there, they are silent about the host worshipping Viśvanātha after bath. The argument from silence is not conclusive but it is just probable that the temple of Viśvanātha was already pulled down, or that the worship of the liṅga was not possible, when both the GPM. and the GVM. were composed. It may

[89] *J.A.S.B.*, XXXI, p. 123. Acc. to Dr. Altekar, the absence of references to Daśāśvamedha, Pañcagaṅgā-g., or temples of Bindu-Mādhava, Kāla-Bhairava and Durgā in Gāhaḍwāla grants may either be due to accident or because of these ghāṭas and shrines being not so popular there ; Altekar, *op. cit.* p. 29.

[90] *History of Benares*, p. 44.

[91] *Ibid.*, p. 44.

[92] *Tristhalī-setu*, p. 208. Altekar, A. S, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

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also be noted that the GPM. refers to Ādi-Viśveśvara shrine near the Bindu-Mādhava-ghaṭṭa.

Incidentally, the reader may note that, in the age of Lakṣmīdhara and of the Liṅgapurāṇa extensively quoted by him, there were several *liṅga*-shrines at Kāsi, some of these liṅgas were *Mukha-liṅgas*, that a majority of the liṅga-shrines had *Kuṇḍas* (built tanks or reservoirs) in front of them, that besides Śiva and Nakulīśa, Vināyaka, Viṣṇu (as Keśava), the goddesses Lalitā, Carcikā, Matsyodarī, and others were also worshipped. [93] The names of some of the Śaiva sites referred to in the texts quoted by Lakṣmīdhara (in his Tīrthakāṇḍa) form an interesting study for students of development of Hindu Iconography, and also for students of Śaivism. The prevalence of Caṇḍī or Durgā worship at Banaras is very old and is attested to by a sixth century inscription which refers to the erection of a temple in her honour. [94]

From ancient times Banaras has been a well known seat of learning as well as a famous centre of trade. *Kāsī* was one of the sixteen *Mahājanapadas*.[95] Vārāṇasī, the capital of the people of Kāsī was known by various other names, namely, Surundhana, Sudassana, Brahmavaḍḍhana, Pupphavatī, Ramma and Molinī. [96] It was an important town like Kampillapura, Palāsapura and Āḷabhī within the kingdom of Jiyasattu.[97] The earliest mention of Kāśīs as a tribal people however occurs in the Pippalāda recension of the Atharvaveda (V. 22-14). Pāṇini in his Aṣṭādhyāyī (4.2.116) and Patañjali in his Mahābhāṣya (2.1.1., p. 32) mention Kāśī.

Kāśī is several times referred to in Vedic literature and the Epics. [98] There are numerous references to it in Purāṇas like Harivaṃśa, Vāyu, Matsya, Viṣṇu, Brahmā, Bhāgavata, Skanda etc.

The Buddhist texts show that Banaras was a great centre of trade and commerce. Rich merchants of the city used to cross high seas with ships, laden

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[93] K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar has listed all the kṣetras, kuṇḍas etc. at Kāśī in his Appendices to the Tīrthakāṇḍa of Kṛtyakalpataru of Lakṣmīdhara.

[94] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IX. p. 69.

[95] *Aṅguttaranikāya*, I. 213 ; IV. 259, 256, 260.

[96] *Jātaka, IV*. pp. 15, 199 ; *Cariyāpiṭaka*, p. 7.

[97] *Uvāsagadasāo*, pp. 84-85, 90, 95, 105, 160, 163.

[98] *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, I. 4.1.10 ; XVII. 5. 4. 19 ; *Śāṅkhāyana Śrautasūtra*, XVI. 29. 5, *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, III. 8. 2 ; *Kauśītakī Up.*, IV. 1 ; *Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra*, XVIII. 44 ; *Rāmāyaṇa*, Ādi., sarga 13, Uttara., 56, 25, 59, 19 ; Kiṣkindhā, sarga 40 ; *Mahābhārata*, Anuśasanaparva, ch. 30, Udyoga, ch. 117, Ādi, 95, 105 etc.

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with merchandise.[98a] A wealthy merchant came to Banaras with the object of trade.[99] There existed trade relations between Banaras and Śrāvastī and between Banaras and Taxila.[100] The people of Banaras used to go to Taxila to learn arts and sciences.[101]

As noted by Dr. Altekar, "Then, as now, Banaras was famous for its soft and thin muslins, bewitching perfumes, scents and ointments. *Aṅguttaranikāya* describes Banaras cloth as pleasant to handle, and of good colour and great worth.[102] It compares a monk confiding Dhamma doctrines to deserving hearers to a person laying Banaras cloth in a scented casket. Rich, fashionable, and luxurious people were accustomed to use this cloth all over the country.[103] .... In one place, Buddha, ... is described as giving Banaras cloth and perfumes even to his servants, in another place we find the Bodhisattva going to the court of the Videha king dressed in Kāśī robes worth a thousand pieces.[104] The Brāhmaṇas of the court of Janaka are described as dressed in Kāśī cloth, perfumed with sandal and decked with gems.[105] ... Ivory work was another important industry at Banaras at this time" [106] Patañjali in his Mahābhāṣya (Kielhorn's ed., II. p. 413) also refers to Kāśī cloth.

We now pass on to other geographical data in the GPM. It is said that in the south (*dakṣiṇa-deśa*) there are many rivers. Of these Trivikramāśrama, a sannyasin hailing from Karṇāṭaka, names some (principal ones) as follows :— Kākānadī, Tāmraparṇī, Ghṛtamalī (or Ghṛtamālī), Kāverī, Payasvinī, Tuṅgabhadrā, Kṛṣṇaveṇī and Godāvarī. Of these the Ghṛtamalī may be Kṛtamālā (Ṛtumālā of Kūrmapurāṇa and Śatamālā of the Varāhapurāṇa) identified with Vaigai flowing past Madurā; Kāverī,[107] Tuṅgabhadrā,[108]

98a *Mahāvastu, III. 286.*

99 *Mahāvastu, II. 166-167.*

100 *Dhammapada Comm., III. 429 ; I. 123.*

101 *Jātaka, II. 47.* Also see, Law, B. C., *Historical Geography of Ancient India, pp. 46-47.*

102 *History of Benaras, pp. 15 ff.*

103 *Kāmavilāpa Jātaka,* no. 297.

104 *Jātaka,* no. 80, and no. 546.

105 *Jātaka,* no. 539.

106 *Jātaka,* no. 72.

107 Kāverī, starting from Coorg, passes through the districts of Coimbatore, Trichinopalli etc., and falls into the Bay of Bengal. Also see, Law, B. C. *Historical Geography of Ancient India,* pp. 162-63. For Kṛtamālā-Vaigai, *ibid.*, pp. 38-9.

108 The two streams, Tuṅga and Bhadrā, originating from the Western Ghats on the Western border of Mysore, uniting and becoming Tuṅgabhadrā from the most important of the lower tributaries of the Kṛṣṇā. Tuṅgabhadrā meets Kṛṣṇā north of Nandikotur in the Kurnool district. Also see, *ibid.*, p. 196.

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Kṛṣṇaveṇā[109] and Godāvarī[110] are well-known.

Payasvinī, also called Candragiri, is a river in South Kanara district rising in the Western Ghats near Coorg and entering the sea at Kāsārgod.[111] Tāmraparṇī is a river in the Tinnevelly district, Madras.[112] Kākānadī could not be identified.

The (more notable) places of pilgrimage in the south are then enumerated. Of these Setubandha-Rāmeśvara and Kanyākumarī are well-known. Anantasenakṣetra is at Trivandrum (Tiruvankuru) in Travancore (now Kerala) State.[113] Janārdana Kṣetra is also in the Kerala State. There is a Janārdana temple at Varakkallai, old Travancore State,[114] modern Kerala. Gokarṇa-kṣetra is an old famous tīrtha in North Karṇāṭaka, referred to in the Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata, Padmapurāṇa, etc.[115] Mahābaleśvara may be Mahābaleshwar temple, Gokarṇa, north Kārṇāṭaka (*Imp. Gaz.* xii 307). Puṇḍarīka-kṣetra is the famous old tīrtha of Panḍharpur. Nāsik and Tryambaka are well-known holy places in Mahārāṣṭra (Bombay State), while Dharmapurī-kṣetra is in Àndhra, on the banks of the Godāvarī. Rāmānujācārya, the author of Tantrarahasya, a primer of the Prabhākara school of Pūrvamīmāmsā, was a native of this place. Wherever a holy river meets the ocean, the place (saṅgama-kṣetra) is venerated as a holy place. Thus confluences of Godāvarī, Kṛṣṇā or Kāverī etc. are marked as tīrthas. Śrī-Śaila, like the Tryambaka-kṣetra is known amongst the twelve principal Śaiva-kṣetras with the worship of Jyotirliṅgas. Incidentally, I may suggest that originally the Jyotirliṅgas may be liṅgas with flames shown issuing from two sides, as we find flaming pillars in some of the Buddhist reliefs. Mallikārjuna-Śiva is worshipped at Śrī-Śaila, in the Kurnool district, Madras,[116] and is the same as the Śrī-parvata referred to in the Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa, Agni-purāṇa, Harṣacarita, etc.[117]

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109 Kṛṣṇaveṇvā in the Purāṇas, Kaṇhapeṇṇā in Jātakas and Kaṇhapennā in the Hāthigumphā inscription, the modern Kṛṣṇā river is also referred to in the Rāmāyaṇa (Kiṣkindhā, XLI. 9) as Kṛṣṇaveṇī or Kṛṣṇaveṇā. Also see, Law, B. C., *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, p. 168.

110 Godāvarī is referred to in the Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata, Matsya Purāṇa, etc., see, Law, B. C, *op. cit.*, pp. 152-53.

111 See, *Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. X. p. 168.

112 *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, p. 406; Vol. XXIII, pp. 215-16. Dey, *Geo. Dict.*, p. 203.

113 Same as the shrine of Ananta-Padmanābha at Trivandrum, see, *Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 50; Vol. XXIII, p. 399; Vol. XXIV, p. 49.

114 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIV. p. 300.

115 Law, B. C., *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, p. 153, for references to different texts.

116 *Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 110.

117 Law, B. C., *op. cit.*, p. 189.

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Kāñcī-kṣetra, an important holy site from ancient times, is modern Conjeevaram in Madras State.[118] There are a number of temples of Subrahmaṇya in the South. There is a Subrahmaṇya tīrtha in South Karṇāṭaka, about 40 miles from Manglore.[119] There are Subrahmaṇya temples at Cheyūr, Chingleput (*Imp. Gaz.*, X. 195), Kālugumalai, Tinnevelly (*ibid.*, xiv. 321), Palni, Madurā (*ibid.*, xix. 373), Tanjore (*ibid.*, ii. 173), Tiruttani, North Arcot distr. (*ibid.*, xxiii. 397), Vaḍakku Valiyūr, Tinnevelly (*ibid.*, xxiv. 291) and so on. There are again many temples of Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa (Hari-Hara) in the South, the one between Udupi and Kundapur in South Karṇāṭaka might have been intended here by the author.[120] Veṅkaṭācala-kṣetra is the famous Bālājī temple of Tirupati, Andhra State.[121] Kālahasti, one of the five very holy Śaiva shrines in the South, is about 18 miles from Tirupati in Andhra.[122]

In the GPM., sannyāsin Trivikramāśrama asks his host, the brāmaṇa Vājapeyī, about the latter's native country which is said to be the Kānyakubja-deśa, *i.e.* the Kanauja district. It is further said to be the Madhyadeśa (of Hindu traditions). According to Manu, II. 21, Madhyadeśa is defined as the country between the Himalaya and the Vindhya mountains, which is to the east of Vinaśana, (the site of the disappearance of the river Sarasvatī) and west of Prayāga. This would be a very extensive region. The tīrthas in this region enumerated by Vājapeyī (GPM., p. 13) support the above view. The areas in which these holy places are situated were, according to Vājapeyī, all included in the Madyadeśa. Actually, Vājapeyī's list covers sites east of Prayāga also. Of these Kurukṣetra or Thāṇeśvara, an ancient city and the area around it, is well-known to Taittirīya Āraṇyaka (V. 1. 1), Mahābhārata, (III. 83-4; etc.), Rāmāyaṇa (Ayodhyā., 70. 12), Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī (4. 1. 172-176; 4. 2. 130) and Purāṇas and later literature.[123] Kuru was known to Pāṇini as a janapada and a kingdom. He also mentions Hastināpur which was its capital. According to Dr. Agrawal, " The region between the triangle of Thāṇesvar, Hisār and

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118 Law, B. C., *op. cit.*, pp. 161 f., 148 f.

119 Also see, *Imp. Gaz.*, vol. XXIII. pp. 114-115, Also see Dey, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

120 Information of this shrine kindly supplied by Pandit B. L. Shanbhogue of the Oriental Institute, Baroda.

121 Formerly in North Arcot Distr., Madras. Also see, *Imp. Gaz.*, vol. XIV. p. 296.

122 *Imp. Gaz.*, p. 296. Law, B. C., *op. cit.*, p. 161.

123 See, Shah, U. P., *Geographical Evidence in the Kāśyapa Saṁhitā*, Journ. of the Oriental Institute, Vol. VII. no. 4, pp. 278, 292. Law, B. C., *op. cit.*, pp. 12, 101 f., and Law, B. C., *Kurukṣetra in Ancient India*, Journal of Indian History, vol. XXXV, part III, pp. 308 ff.

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Hastināpur was distinguished by three different names: Kurukṣetra proper between Gaṅgā and Yamunā with its capital at Hastināpur, Kurujāngala equal to Rohtak, Hānsi and Hisār, and Kurukṣetra to the north with its centre at Thāṇeśvara, Kaithal and Karnāl." [124]

Sannihatyātīrtha, a big lake near Kurukṣetra is not identified, but should be located near Thāṇeśvara-tīrtha. [124a] Pṛthūdakatīrtha is modern Pehoā, 14 miles to the west of Thāṇeśvara, where the celebrated Brahma-Yonitīrtha is situated. [125]

Indraprasthapura near old Delhi, variously known as Indraprastha, Khāṇḍavaprastha, Bṛhatsthala in the Mahābhārata, is the modern Indrapat near Delhi, and was the famous capital of Yudhisthira. According to Dey, "The city of Indraprastha was built on the banks of the Jamunā, between the modern Kotilla of Firoz Shah and Humayun's tomb, about 2 miles south of modern Delhi. The river has now shifted its course more than a mile eastwards. The Nigambod Ghat on the banks of the Jamuna near the Nigambod Gate of Shah Jahan's Delhi, just outside the fort close to Selimgad, and the temple of Nīlachatri said to have been erected by Yudhiṣṭhira......are believed to have formed part of the ancient capital." [126] This Nigambod must be the Nigamagocara-tīrtha.

Mathurā is well-known, [127] so also Gokula, [128] Govardhana [129] and Vṛndāvana. [130] According to Dey, the ancient Vṛndāvana cannot be identified with modern Vṛndāvana since the ancient Vṛndāvana and Mathurā seem to have been on the opposite sides of the Yamunā (cf. Viṣṇupurāṇa, part V. chp. 18, v. 13, Bhāgavata, X, ch. 39, v. 34). The Vṛndāvana of the age of GPM. may however be the modern Vṛndāvana.

Puṣkara-tīrtha, an ancient holy site, 6 or 7 miles from Ajmer, [131] is one of

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[124] Agrawala, V. S., *India as known to Pāṇini*, p. 54.

[124a] However, see, Kane, P. V., *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. IV. p. 686, and p. 801.

[125] Dey, Nundo Lal, *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, (2nd ed.), p. 252.

[126] Dey, N. L., *op. cit.*, p. 230 and p. 77.

[127] Dey, *op. cit.*, pp. 127-8; Law, B. C., *Historical Geography*, pp. 106-110.

[128] Dey, *op. cit.*, p. 70; Law, B. C., *ibid.*, p. 79. Gokula is the same as Vraja or Mahāvana, see, Dey, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-41.

[129] Dey, *op. cit.*, p. 72. Law, *op. cit.*, p. 80. Mt. Govardhana is about 18 miles from Vṛndāvana.

[130] Dey, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-42., Law, B. C., *op. cit.*, p. 135.

[131] Dey, *op. cit.*, p. 163. Pushkara referred to in Bṛhat-Samhitā, XVI. 31 etc.

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ancient tīrthas of Brahmā worship. There is also another place known as Buḍhā-Puṣkara in the Ajmere district, both the sites deserve exploration. A few antiquities from Buḍhā-Puṣkara, collected by the late Mahāmahopādhyāya Gaurishankara Ozha are now in the Rājputānā Museum, Ajmere.

The river Narmadā is well-known, but the particular holy site meant by Narmadā-tīrtha cannot be ascertained. The Amarkaṇṭaka-kṣetra[132] must be on or near the hill of the same name, which latter is a part of the Mekhala hills in Gondawana, Nāgpur, in which the Narmadā and the Son have their source.[132] Hence Narmadā is called Mekhala-sutā in Padmapurāṇa, Chp. VI. "According to some, it (Amarakaṇṭaka) is in the (old) Rewah State on the easternmost extermity of the Maikal range, 25 miles by the country road from Sahdol railway station, 3,000 ft. above the sea-level."[133] Omkāreśvara is the famous Jyotirliṅga of Omkāranātha at Mandhātā, on the left bank of the Narmadā. It is 32 miles north-west of Khaṇḍvā, 7 miles north-east of the Mortakā railway station and 6 miles east of Baḍvāh.[134]

Carmaṇvatī is the river Cambal rising from the Aravalli range in Rājasthan, and is associated with Pāriyātra in Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa (57. 19-20).[135]

Avanti[136] or western Mālvā is called Avantikā in Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa, IV, 40.91. Avantikākṣetra refers to Mahākalavana, one yojana in extent around the area in which the shrine of Mahākāleśvara is situated, *i. e.* around Ujjain. Mahākāleśvara is mentioned separately in our text.

Narmadāsaṅgama is where the river Narmadā meets the ocean. Bhārabhūta or Bhāḍabhūta is a Śaiva tīrtha between Broach and the ocean, on the Narmadā. There are a number of tīrthas on the banks of the Narmadā, mentioned in the Purāṇas and it is difficult to say which particular shrine was meant. Probably the site of the saṅgama itself is meant. Gupta-Prayāga, mentioned next, and before the Prabhāsa-kṣetra cannot be the tīrtha of the same name in the Himalayas. At many tīrthas in India, the local people imagine that there is secret confluence of three rivers, one of which is Sarasvatī.

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132 Dey, *op. cit.*, p. 4. The first fall of the Narmadā from Amarakaṇṭaka is called Kapiladhārā in the Skandapurāṇa.

133 Law, B. C., *op. cit.*, p. 302. Also see, Law, B. C., Holy Places of India, p. 34.

134 Dey, *op. cit.*, p. 142. Law, B. C., *Hist. Geo.*, p. 323.

135 Dey, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

136 For Avanti, see, Law, B. C., *op. cit.*, pp. 304 ff; *Avantikṣetra Māhātmya* in Skanda-purāṇa, Avanti-khaṇḍa. Also see, Umashankara Joshi, *Purāṇomān Gujarāta* (in Gujarati, Ahmedabad, 1946) pp. 21-34 for a list of tīrthas in Avanti-kṣetra and for different references to Avanti etc.

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Gupta-Prayāga might, therefore, have been a sacred spot round about Prabhāsa itself. Prabhāsa-kṣetra[137] is the same as Deva-pattana or Somnātha-Pattana near Verāvaḷ in South Saurāṣṭra and is famous as the site of one of the Jyotirliṅgas. The Sarasvatī at Prabhāsa is the river Raunākshī referred to as Prāchī-Sarasvatī in Skandapurāṇa, Prabhāsakhaṇḍa, chps. 35-36.

Gomatī and Pañca-Dvārakās mentioned next should also be located in Saurāṣṭra. Dvārika-tīrtha in western Saurāṣṭra is situated on the river Gomatī.[138] It is difficult to identify the five Dvarakās mentioned by our text. At least three Dvarakās are known in Saurāṣṭra, Dvārakā, Beṭ-Dvārakā (Śankhoddhāra-beṭ, island near Dvarakā), and the Mūla-Dvārakā about three miles from Koḍināra in Saurāṣṭra, where an old ruined Viṣṇu temple also exists. Besides these local traditions also place the site of Dvarakā near Śrīnagara between Porabandar and Miyāṇī as also ascribe it to a place called Mādhavapur (of old Porabandar State) as mentioned by the late Shri Durgāshankar Shastri.[139]

Sindhusaṅgama is the meeting of the river Sindu with the Ocean. Hiṅgulādevīkṣetra[140] is in Baluchistan. Worshipped also as Hiṅglāja Mātā in Gujarat, the original shrine of the goddess of the name is in Baluchistan and is one of the famous Śakti-pīṭhas of India. Hiṅglāja is situated at the extremity of the range of mountains in Baluchistan, called by the name of Hiṅgula or Hiṅgulā, about 20 miles from the sea-coast on the bank of the Aghor or the Hiṅgula river. N. L. Dey *op. cit.*, pp. 75-76, writes: "The goddess Durgā is known here by the name of Mahāmāyā or Koṭṭarī......Sir T. Holdich considers that the shrine had been in existence before the days of Alexander, 'for the shrine is sacred to the Goddess Nana......which, Asurbanipal, king of Assyria, removed from Susa in 645 B.C. to the original sanctuary at Urakh......(Journal of the Society of Arts, vol. *XLIX*)......The *Ziarat* is so ancient that both Hindu and

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137 Dey, *op. cit.*, pp. 157-158 and p. 181. Umāshankar Joshi, Purāṇomān Gujarāt (Gujarāti), pp, 132 ff.

138 Dey, *op. cit.*, p. 70, and pp. 58-59. Umashankar Joshi, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-108. Law, B. C., *op. cit.*, p. 282.

139 Durgashankar K. Shastri, *Gujarātanā Tīrthasthāno* (Ahmedabad, 1954), p. 90. Umashankar Joshi, *op. cit.*, has discussed all the theories about identification of the original Dvārakā.

140 *Devī-Bhāgavata*, vii. 38 Acc. to Captain Hark, who visited the temple, it is situated in a narrow gorge, the mountains on each side of which rise perpendicularly to nearly a thousand feet. It was a low mud edifice, built at one end of a natural cave of small dimensions, and contained a tomb-shaped stone called the goddess Mātā or Mahāmāyā (Account of a Journey from Karachi to Hiṅglaj, JASB., IX (1840), p. 134.).

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Muhammadans claim it without recognizing its prehistoric origin. The goddess is known to the Muhammadans by the name of Nani (*Imperial Gazetteer*, vol. xiii p. 142)". It is thus suggested that the ancient worship of Hiṅglāj, a form of Durgā, is based upon that of the ancient Iranian goddess Nānā or Nanaia. It would be interesting to note that Durgā is also called Nandā which latter name seems to have been possibly based upon Nānā.[141]

Sindhunada is the river Indus. Candrabhāgā, the river Cenāb or Cīnāb, the Asiknī of Ṛgveda, Arrian's Akesines and Sandabaga or Sandabal of Ptolemy, appears to flow just above Kishtwar, as a confluence of two hill streams, to Rishtwar in southerly course and then flows past Jammu in a south-westerly direction forming a doab between it and the Vitastā or Jhelum.[142] Kāśmīra Someśvara is not identified (is it another name of Amarnātha?), the river Sandhyāvarddhinī mentioned next is also not identified. There is a Vyāsa river near the Gurudāsapur district, it is said to separate the Hoshiyārapur district and the old Kapurathalā state from the Gurudāsapur district,[143] and another river Vyāsa-Gaṅgā near Devaprayāga in the Gaḍhwāl district. The latter identification is tempting since Vasiṣṭhāśrama is mentioned immediately after Vyāsagaṅgā and since there is a Vasiṣṭha-kuṇḍa near Devaprayāga and Vyāsa-gaṅgā.[144] Kālidāsa in his Raghuvamśa (II. 26) locates the hermitage of Vasiṣṭha in the Himalayas. There is a Vasiṣthāśrama, near Jyeṣṭheśvara in Kāśmira (Kalhaṇa's Rājataranginī, I. 107 and Sir A. Stein's note in vol. I. pp. 20-21), which is probably the tīrtha referred to in our text. The Maṇimaheśa-parvata is a celebrated place of pilgrimage at Baramwar, the ancient capital of Chambā on the bank of the Rāvī near its source.[145] Triloknātha-kṣetra is a celebrated place of pilgrimage situated in Lahul in the Kullu subdivison on the left bank of the Chandrabhāgā river, about 32 miles below the junction of the Candra and Bhāgā. The image worshipped as Mahādeva, is, in fact, of Avalokiteśvara, (JASB., 1902, p. 35).[146] Sarovaratīrtha cannot be identified Tapta-Maṇikarṇikā may be Manikarṇa,[147] a place of pilgrimage also known as Maṇi-

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141 Also see, Shah, U. P., *Foreign Elements in Jaina Literature, Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXIX. no. 3 (Sept., 1953), p. 262.

42 Law, B. C., *op. cit.*, 29-30, 72-73.

143 *Bhārata Paribhramaṇa* (Hindi, Veṇkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay, V. S. 1969) Vol. II, p. 485.

144 *Bhārata-Paribhramaṇa*, vol. V. pp. 1360 ff. Also see, *Imp. Gaz.*, vol. XI. p. 274, Kane, P.V., *Hist. of Dharmaśāstra*, vol. IV, p. 818.

145 Cunnigham, *Arch. Survey Rep.*, vol. XIV. p. 109 and Dey, *op. cit.*, pp. 125-26. A Maṇiparvata in the Himalayan region is mentioned in *Jātakas*, II. p. 92, see Law, B.C., *op. cit.*, p. 106.

146 Dey, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

147 Law, B.C., *op. cit.*, p. 106.

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karan, on the Pārvati a tributary of the Beas in the Kullu valley (JASB. 1902, p. 36).

Nagarakoṭa-kṣetra, mentioned next, is the old town of Kangrā in the Punjab. The old temple of Vajreśvarī in the city, one of the ancient Śakti-pīṭhas, was desecrated by Mahmud of Ghazni. Nagarkoṭ or Koṭ Kāngrā, at the junction of the Mānjhi and Bāṇ-Gaṅgā rivers in the Kohistan of the Jalandhara Doab, was the old capital of Kuluta or Trigartta (Dr. Stein's ed. of Rājataraṅgiṇī, I. p. 204, ft. note).[148] Jvālāmukhī is an ancient site in the Dera Gopipur tahsil of the Kangra district in Punjab, situated on the road from Kangra town to Nadaun. It is famous for the temple of the goddess Jvālāmukhī, which lies in the Beas Valley,[149] about 22 miles south of Kangrā and of 10 miles north-west of Nadaun. It is one of the 52 śakti-pīṭhas.

Irāvatī is the modern Rāvī, the Greek Hydraotis or Adris or Rhonadis, rising in the rock-basin of Bāṅgahal. Flowing through Chamba and past Lahore it meets the Chenab between Ahmadpur and Saraisidhu.[150]

Śarāvatī was identified by Wilford with Bāṇagaṅgā passing through the district of Budaon in Rohilkhaṇḍ (Asiatic Researches, vol. xiv. p. 409, Padma-purāṇa, Ādi., ch. 3), and with the river Rāptī near Śrāvastī (Sahet-Mahet) by N. L. Dey.[151]

Puṣhyabhadrā, meeting the Yamunā, is not identified. Yamunā itself is known to Vedic and later literature.[152] It takes its rise in the Himalayan range below Mount Kamet. The Yamunottrī which is eight miles from Kursoli is considered to be the source of this river.[153] Puṣpabhadrā is however mentioned as a river on the northern slopes of the Himalayas in ancient literature.[154]

Gaṅgottarā is the northern Gaṅgā, the Gangotri from where the Ganges takes its rise as Bhāgīrathī in the Ghadhwal territory.[155] At Devaprayāga it is joined by Alakanandā. The Mandākinī is one of the tributaries of the Alaka-

148 Dey, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

149 Law, B. C., *Holy Places of India*, p. 24; Law, B. C., *Hist. Geo. of Ancient India*, p. 86. Dey, *op. cit.*, p. 82; Cunnigham, *Archaeological Survey Report*, vol. V, p. 171. Jvālāmukhī is mentioned in the *Devī-Bhāgavata*, vii. 38.

150 Law, B. C., *Rivers of India*, p. 13; *Hist. Geo.*, p. 86.

151 Dey, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

152 For detailed references, see, Law, B.C., *op. cit.*, pp. 135-36.

153 Also see, Law, B.C., op. cit., p. 33, Dey, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

154 *Varāhapurāṇa*, 51.2, 98.5; *Bhāgavata*, XII. 8.17, XII. 9.10; and *Nṛsiṁhapurāṇa* quoted by *Kṛtyakalpataru-Tīrthakāṇḍa*, p. 253. See, Kaṇe, P.V., *Hist. of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. IV. p. 794.

155 Law, B.C., *op. cit.*, p. 31.

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nandā, and is called Kāligaṅgā or Mandākinī rising in the mountains of Kedāra in Ghadhwal. In the famous shrine of Kedāreśvara is worshipped one of the twelve Jyotirliṅgas.[156]

Badrikāśrama well-known to Mahābhārata, Śāntiparvan, etc., is the famous holy site where Nārāyaṇa is worshipped. It is, like Kedāra, Rāmeśvara, Jagnnātha-Purī, Dvarikā, Kāśī, etc., one of the principal Hindu tīrthas, on the Alakanandā river in the Gaḍhwāl territory. Alakanandā represents one of the upper courses of the Ganges, and her course is traced from the Gandhamādana mountain (Bhāgavata, IV, 6.24, Brahmāṇḍa purāṇa, III, 41.21; Viṣṇu purāṇa, II. 2.34.36, Vāyu, 41.18, etc.). The Badrināth peak of the Himālayas is about 55 miles north-east of Śrīnagara in Gaḍhwāl. Near the source of the Alakanandā the temple of Nara-Nārāyaṇa was built on the west bank. The original temple is said to have been built or at least the present idol of Nārāyaṇa installed by Śrī Śaṅkārācārya in c. 7th-8th century A. D.[157]

Rudraprayāga, on the confluence of the Mandākinī and the Alakanandā, and Devaprayāga on the confluence of the Bhāgirathī and the Alakanandā are in the Gaḍhwāl territory on the way to Badarīkāśrama from Hṛṣikeśa.[158] Skanda-Prayāga on the confluence of Dhavala-Gangā and Alakanandā, not identified, should also be located in the Gaḍhwāl territory, possibly on the same route.[159]

Haridvāra, is one of the seven principal Hindu tīrthas.[160] According to the Mahābhāratā it is called Gangādvāra and according to Vaiṣṇava literature it is known as Māyāpurī. It is in the Saharanpur district, U. P., a few miles from Dehra Dun. Hṛśīkeśa on the road to Badrīnātha from Haradvāra is about 24 miles north of Haradvāra[161] while Kaṅkhala or Kanakhala is about two miles east of Haradvāra on the junction of the Ganges and the Nīladhārā. It was the site of Dakṣa-Yajña according to purāṇās.[162] Alakanandā-kṣetra mentioned next may be the valley of the Alakanandā. Or it may refer to some spot near

[156] Also see, Kaṇe, P.V., *Hist. of Dharmaśāstra*, IV. p. 768, Dey, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

[157] Law, B. C., *op. cit.*, p. 70, p. 64. Also, Law, B. C. *Holy Rivers of India*, p. 18. Dey, *op. cit.*, p. 15. Kane, P. V. *His. of Dharmaśāstra*, IV.. pp. 731, 736.

[158] Law, B. C., *Hist. Geo.*, p. 64, *Holy Rivers of India*, p. 19. Kane, P. V., *op. cit.*, p. 746, 797. *Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. XXII. 80-81; Vol. XI, 273-74.

[159] For detailed information of the different places on this route, and for the different Prgyāgas in the Garhwāl area, see, *Bhārata Paribhramaṇa* (Hindi), Vol. V.

[160] Cf., :—अयोध्या मथुरा माया काशी काञ्ची अवन्तिका। पुरी द्वारावती चैव सप्तैता मोक्षदायिकाः॥

[161] Law, B. C., *Hist. Geo.*, pp. 81, 85.

[162] Law, B. C., *op. cit.*, p. 89.

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Haradvāra on the Ganges since it is mentioned in our text after Kanakhala and before Kuśāvarta. Kuśāvartta, according to Dey, is a sacred ghāṭa in Haradvāra.[163] It is south of the site known as Hara-ki-peḍi at Haradvāra.

Ghaṭamukteśvara or Gaḍhamukteśvara is in the Meerut (Meraṭha) district, U. P., about 26 miles south-east of Meerut, on an old mound, and is supposed to have been a suburb of Hastināpura according to local traditions. There is a big Śaiva shrine here where an annual fair is held in the month of Kārttika.[164]

Hastināpura, of Mahābhārata fame, was the ancient capital of the Kurus, situated on the Ganges in the Meerut district, and is traditionally identified with an old town in Mawānā tahsil, Meraṭha. This city is also called Gajāhvaya according to the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, I. 9. 48 ; I. 15. 38 ; IX. 22. 40 ; X. 68. 16, etc. Ṛṣabhanātha, the first Jain Tīrthaṅkara is said to have been an inhabitant of Hastināpura.[165]

Sambhalāgrāma is a village near Moradabad in the district of Rohilla-khaṇḍa, 80 miles to the east of Delhi, where Viṣṇu would incarnate as *Kalkin* (*Bhāg. Pu.* XII. 2. 18). According to Dey it is the Sambalaka of Ptolemy.[166]

Sūkara-kṣetra, according to Dey, is Soron on the Ganges, about twenty-seven miles north-east of Itah, where Hiraṇyākṣa is said to have been slain by Viṣṇu in his incarnation as Varāha (*Varāha Pu.* ch. 137). There is a temple of Varāha-Lakṣmī at Soron.[167]

Naimiṣāraṇya is one of the nine sacred forests mentioned in Devīpurāṇa, chap. 74. Many Purāṇas were written here. It is the modern Nimsar, 20 miles from Sitapur and 45 miles to the north-west of Lucknow. It is an important place of pilgrimage for the Hindus.[168]

Uttara-Gokarṇa is differentiated from Southern-Gokarṇa, which latter is the famous Gokarṇa in South-Karṇāṭaka, Karwar district, about thirty miles from Goa between Karwar and Kumta. According to Rāmāyaṇa, Bālakāṇḍa, ch. 42, v. 12, Bagīratha performed austerities at Gokarṇa to bring down the Ganges. This might be the northern-Gokarṇa. N. L. Dey identifies it with

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163 Dey, *op. cit.*, p. 111. Also see, *Bhārata-Paribhramaṇa*, Vol. II, p. 365,

164 *Bhārata-Paribhramaṇa*, II. p. 383. *Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. XII, p. 163.

165 Law, B. C., *Op. cit.*, p. 81 ; Dey, N. L., *Op. cit.*, p. 74. Also see, Lal, B. B., *Excavations at Hastināpur, Ancient India, Nos. 10 and 11, pp. 1-5.*

166 Dey, N. L., *Op. cit.*, p. 176

167 Dey, N. L., *Op. cit.*, pp. 195-96 ; Law, B. C. *Op. cit.*, p. 128.

168 For references from ancient texts see, Law, B. C., *Op. cit.*, p. 113 and p. 41. Also, Dey, N. L., *Op. cit.*, p. 135.

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modern Gomukhī, two miles beyond Gangotrī.[169] According to the Varāha Purāṇa, ch. 170, Gokarṇa is situated on the Sarasvatī-saṅgama or confluence of the river Sarasvatī.

River Sarayū is well known. Rāmāyaṇa (Ādikāṇḍa, 14 sarga, vv. 1-2), shows that King Daśaratha performed the Aśvamedha sacrifice on the bank of this river. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa are said to have visited the confluence of this river with the Ganges (Rāmāyaṇa, Ādikāṇḍa, 23.5). Sarayū is referred to in Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī (VI. 4. 174). According to Milindapañha (p. 114), Sarayū issued forth from the Himalayas. Sarayū is mentioned in Ṛgveda (IV. 30. 18 ; X. 64. 9 ; V. 53. 9). Citraratha and Arṇa are said to have been defeated by the Turvaśas and Yadus who crossed this river. According to Law, " it was the Ghagrā or Gogrā, a tributary of the Ganges, on which stood the city of Ayodhyā. It is the Sarabos of Ptolemy and is one of the five great rivers mentioned in early Buddhist texts. This river joins the Ganges in the district of Chapra, Bihar. At the north-west corner of the district of Bahraich it receives a tributary from the north-east which goes by the name of Saryū. . . . According to Rāmāyaṇa (Uttara., 123. 1), the Sarayū river is situated at a distance of half a yojana from the city of Ayodhyā. "[170]

Ayodhyā is one of the seven principal holy places of the Hindus.[171] It is referred to as Vinītā in Jaina canonical texts,[172] as the birth-place of the first and the fourth Tīrthaṅkaras. Also known as Sāketa or Ikṣvākubhūmi in the Āvaśyaka Niryukti, it is called Sha-che by Fa-Hien and according to Ptolemy it is Sogeda. In the Brāhmaṇa Literature, it is described as a village.[173] It is mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa as the (earlier) capital of Kośala Janapada, where it is said to be of the shape of *Aṣṭāpada* in plan.[174] Some think that Sāketa and Ayodhyā were identical but Rhys Davids has pointed out that both the cities existed in Buddha's time.[175] Ayodhyā is important in the history of Jainism and Buddhism. Hiuen-Tsang says that Ayodhyā was the temporary residence of Asaṅga and Vasubandhu.[176]

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[169] N. L. Dey, *Op. cit.* p. 70. Also see B. C. Law, *Op. cit.*, p. 79.

[170] Law, B. C., *Op. cit.*, pp. 120-121. Also see, Law, B. C., *Rivers of India*, p. 22.

[171] See foot note no. 160 above.

[172] *Āvaśyaka Niryukti*, 382.

[173] Law, B. C., *Hist. Geo. of Ancient India*, p. 67. *Aitareya Brāh.*, VII. 3ff.; *Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, XV. 17-25 ; cf. *J.R.A.S.* 1917, 52 note.

[174] cf. चित्रामष्टापदाकारम् etc. Rāmā., Bālakāṇḍa, 5.16.

[175] Law, B.C., *Geography of Early Buddhism*, p. 5.

[176] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I, pp. 354-9.

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Nandigrāma is Nundgāon in Oudh, close to the Bharata-kuṇḍa, eight or nine miles to the south of Fyzabad. Bharata is said to have resided at this place during the exile of Śrī Rāmacandra (Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyā., ch. 115)[177].

Vaṭa-prayāga on the confluence of the Ganges and the Yamunā is the famous Prayāga-tīrtha near Allahabad, where there is the celebrated *akṣaya-vaṭa* (undecaying bunyan tree, now-preserved in the fort of Allahabad built by Akbar in 1581. Hiuen-Tsang in the seventh century also refers to a sacred tree being venerated at Prayāga.[178] Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyā, 54, 6-7, 34, refer to Bharadvāja's hermitage at Prayāga near the confluence of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā. According to Mahābhārata, it is the holiest of all places. According to Harivaṃśa, 26.9, it is highly spoken of by the sages. Prayāga is also referred to in early Buddhist texts as a holy place on the Ganges[179]. It is believed that at this site there is the confluence of the Sarasvatī also. As noted by Hiuen--Tsang, there were many Deva-temples here and the people were gentle, compliant in disposition and fond of learning[180].

Kāśī is Banaras (Vārāṇasī) where is (worshipped) the Overlord, Viśveśvara. Banaras and its ghāṭs etc. have been discussed above.

At Gayā-tīrtha is worshipped the God Gadādhara. The river Falgu flows nearby. Gayā is situated between Rāmaśilā hill on the north and the Brahmayoni hill on the south on the bank of the river Falgu. The town comprises the modern town of Sahabganj on the northern side and the ancient town of Gayā on the southern side. In the southern part of the town, called *Cakrabeḍa* in the Caitanya-Bhāgavata (ch. 12), is situated the celebrated temple of Viṣṇupada, erected about 225 years ago by Ahalyābāi, on the site of an older shrine. The Viṣṇupada had been set up prior to Fa-Hien's visit.[181] According to Fa--Hien, who visited Gayā in the fifth century A.D., all was emptiness and desolation inside the city[182]. According to Hiuen-Tsang, Gayā had few inhabitants and more than a thousand Brāhmaṇa families. Above 30 li to the north of the city there was a clear spring whose waters were regarded sacred. Five or six li to the north-west of the city was the Gayā mountain (Gayāśiras) with dark

177 Dey, N. L., *Op. cit.*, p. 138.

178 See also, Dey, N. L., *Op. cit.*, 160 for references to Prayāga in Kūrma Purāṇa, Rājataraṅgiṇī, Vikramorvaśīyam, etc.

179 *Majjhima Nikāya*, I. 39; *Papañcasūdanī*, I. p. 178.

180 Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I. 361, Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, I. 230. Also see, Law, B. C., *Hist. Geo. of Ancient India*, pp. 117-118.

181 Day, N. L., *Op. cit.*, p. 64.

182 Legge, *Travels of Fa-Hien*, p. 87.

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gorges and inaccessible cliffs, and, having, on its top, a stūpa more than 100 ft. high built by Aśoka. Gayāsīsa, the principal hill of Gayā,[183] is modern Brahmyoni and is identical with Gayāśira of the Mahābhārata (III. 95.9) and the Purāṇas.[184] According to Vāyu Purāṇa, (II. 105.45; 109. 16) Gayā also had an *akṣayavaṭa* or undying sacred bunyan-tree. Gayātīrtha is a holy place where Gayāsura performed penance and a sacrifice. Brahmā performed a religious sacrifice on a slab of stone placed on the head of Gayāsura (Vāyu., II. 105.4-5). The Buddha once stayed at Gayā where he met the yakkha Suciloma.[185] Buddha-Gayā (Uruvilva or Uruvela) is about six miles to the south of Gayā. The Buddha, just after his enlightenment, lived at Uruvelā, at the foot of the Ajapāla bunyan tree on the bank of the Nerañjanā.[186]

Jagannātha Kṣetra, in Orissa, is one of the principal holy places of the Hindus. It is also known as Puruṣottamakṣetra.[187] The temple of Jagannātha lies on the shores of the Bay of Bengal, and extends from the Lokanātha temple on the west to Baleśvara temple on the east and from Svargadvāra on the south to the Matia stream on the north-east.[188]

The river Punā may be the river Punaḥpunā, modern Punpun, a tributary of the Ganges in the Patna district.[189] It is, however, noteworthy that this river is mentioned after Jagannātha kṣetra in our text. However since the next references are to Śroṇabhadrā etc. we need not necessarily look for Punā river in Orissa or further south.

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183 *Vinaya Piṭaka*, I. 34 ff; II. 199; Law, B. C., *A study of the Mahāvastu*, p. 81.

184 Barua, B. M., *Gayā and Buddha-Gayā*, I. 11. The city of Gayā is referred to in *Brahma Purāṇa*, 67.19; *Kūrma Purāṇa*, 67.19; *Agni Purāṇa* 109; *Vāyu Purāṇa*, II. 105. ff.; *Yoginītantra*, I. 11. 62-63, II. 2.5.141 ff. etc.

185 *Suttanipāta*, p. 47.

186 Law, B. C., *Hist. Geo. of Ancient India*, p. 219 for Gayā and Gayāsīsa; pp. 264-65 for Uruvelā, and pp. 251-252 for Falgu; Dey, N. L., *Op. cit.*, pp. 64-65. Also see, *Bhārata Bhramaṇa*, III. pp. 626-652.

187 Cf. *Yoginītantra*, 2.9. 214 ff; *Kālikāpurāṇa*, 58. 35. Also see, *Bhārata Bhramaṇa*, Vol. III. pp. 806 ff; *Padmapurāṇa*, Chps. 83-86; *Agni Purāṇa*, Ch. 80; *Brahma.*, Chps. 41-58 refer to festivities etc., of the Lord at Puri. Also see, *Brahmavaivarta*, Kṛṣṇa Khaṇḍa, Ch. 37, *Narasimha Purāṇa*, Ch. 10.

188 For the history of the shrine and the images, see, Dey, N. L., *Op. cit.*, pp. 162-163, O'Malley, *Bihar and Orissa District Gazetteers: Puri*, (1929) pp. 326 ff.; Stirling's *Orissa*, etc.

189 Dey, N. L., *Op. cit.*, p. 161 Punaḥpunā is referred to in *Vāyu Pu.*, Ch. 108; *Padma Pu.*, Sṛṣṭi., Ch. 11. Also see, Law, B.C., *Rivers of India*, p. 26.

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Śroṇabhadrā or Śoṇabhadrā is the famous river Son or Śoṇa, Arrian's Sona, a lower tributary of the Ganges, rising in the Maikala (Mekala) range in the Jabalpur district, and flouring north-east through Bāghelkhaṇḍ, Mirzāpur and Shāhbād districts, joining the Ganges near Patna. At the time of the Rāmāyaṇa (Ādikāṇḍa, 32. 8-9) this beautiful (*ramyā*) river flowed through the five hills encircling Girivraja.[190]

Cyavanāśrama, the hermitage of Cyavana, referred to here after Son, and before Rājagṛha forest must be located somewhere in this area. Nand Lal Dey has noted the following four places associated with the hermitage of the sage Cyavana :—(1) Causā in the Shahbad district, (2) a Cyavanāśrama situated on the Sātpurā mountains, near the river Payoṣṇī, (3) Dhosī, six miles south of Narnol in the Jaipur territory, and (4) Cilnla on the Ganges in the Rai Barelli district.[191] The first identification best suits our context.

Rājagṛha-vana or the forest of Rājagṛha obviously refers to Rājagṛha (modern Rājgir in Bihar) and its surrounding area. In the age of our text Rājgir area seems to have been more or less desolate and forested. Rājagṛha of course continues to be venerated and visited by the Jainas from ancient times.[192] Rājagṛha was the ancient capital of Magadha and was known also as Kuśāgrapura and Girivraja.[193] It was called Girivraja as it was guarded by a cluster of close-set five hills.[194] The Rāmāyaṇa (I. 32. 7) refers to it as Vasumati and the Mahābhārata (II. 24. 44) also calls it Bārhadrathapura. As capital of Jarāsandha it was known as Girivraja. Hiuen-Tsang points out that when Kuśāgrapura was afflicted by fires, the king went to the cemetery and built the new city of Rājagṛha. Fa-Hien however says that it was Ajātaśatru, and not Bimbisāra, who built the new city. There were several forest-groves and parks in the Rājagṛha area in ancient times, *e.g.*, the Veluvana, Yaṣṭivana, etc.[195]

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190 Law, B. C., *Rivers of India*, p. 26 ; *Hist. Geo. of Ancient India*, p. 128 ; Cunningham, *Archæological Survey Report*, vol. VIII. p. 15 ; Dey, N. L., *Op. cit.*, p. 188. The Purāṇas count it as one of the important rivers that rise from the Ṛkṣa range.

191 Dey, N. L., *Op. cit.*, p. 51.

192 Cf., for example, Jinaprabhasūri's *Vividha-Tīrtha-kalpa*, Vaibhāra giri-kalpa.

193 *Mañjuśrī-Mūlakalpa*, paṭala lxiii ; *Mahābhārata*, Sabhāparva, 21. 3 ; Vanaparva, 6. 82-104 ; *Sutta-Nipāta*, p. 72 ; *Sāratthappakāsinī*, II. p. 159.

194 Cf. *MBH.*, Sabhā., 21. 2-3, 24-44.

195 Law, B.C., *Hist. Geo. of Ancient India* pp. 45, 254-55. For further references, see, Law, B. C., *Rājagṛha in Ancient Literature*, Memoir of the Archæological Survey of India, no. 58 ; and Kuraishi, M. H., *Rājgir* (5th ed., New Delhi, 1958).

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Vaidyanātha-kṣetra is Baijanātha or Baidyanātha or Deogarh in the Santal Paragana of Bihar, containing the temple of Vaidyanātha, one of the twelve Jyotirliṅgas of Śiva. The place also contains a temple of Pārvatī which is one of the fifty-two Śakti-pīṭhas of India, [196] the Hārddapīṭha ; it is said that Satis's heart fell at this place. Baidyanātha is a small town about four miles to the south of the Jasidih Junction station of the East Indian Railway and about 200 miles due west of Calcutta. Baidyanātha is referred to in the Baidyanātha-māhātmya of the Śiva Purāṇa and the Baidyanatha-māhātmya of the Padma Purāṇa [197].

Next is mentioned the Gaṅgāsāgara-tīrtha. This is a celebrated place of pilgrimage, still known by that name, and is said to have been the site of the hermitage of the sage Kapila. N. L. Dey notes that " the temple in honour of Kapila Muni in Sāgara Island was erected in 430 A.D., but it was washed away by the sea in 1842. " [198] The Yoginītantra, 2.9, pp. 214 ff. and Bṛhat-Dharmapurāṇa, ch. 22 refer to the Kapilāśrama. The GVM. (text p. 31) also refers to the Gangāsāgaratīrtha in the Gauḍadeśa.

The GPM. refers to the Gaṇḍakī river after the Gaṇgāsāgaratīrtha. Thus the author again takes us back northwards. The modern Gaṇḍaka was called Gaṇḍakī and Cakranandī according to Bhāgavatapurāṇa (X. 79, 11 ; V. 7.10). The Padmapurāṇa (chp. 21) considers it as holy. Gaṇḍakī [199] is a great upper

Varāhapurāṇa, chp. 144 explains the origin of the name Gaṇḍakī and says that the river was formed from the sweat of the cheeks (*gaṇḍa*) of Vishṇu. The source of the river is not far from Śālagrāma, which was the hermitage of Bharata and Pulaha. On the south of Śālagrāma is the celebrated temple of Muktinātha with the image of Nārāyaṇa worshipped in it.[200] Gaṇḍakī is famous for the sacred stones called śālagrāma found from its bed, and worshipped as different forms of Viṣṇu. It is, therefore, also called Śālāgrāmī and Nārāyaṇī.

Cakratīrtha and Muktikṣetra mentioned next must be on the Nepal border,

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196 Dey, N. L., *Op. cit.*, p. 50 under Citābhūmi.

197 Law, B. C., *Hist. Geo. of Ancient India*, p. 211. Also see, Mitra Rajendralal, *On the Temples of Deoghar*, *J.A.S.B.*, 1883, pp. 164 ff.

198 Dey, N. L., *Op. cit.*, p. 171 ; Law, B. C., *Op. cit.*, p. 224.

199 For Gaṇḍakī, see, Law, B. C., *Rivers of India*, pp. 23 ff.

tributary of the Ganges, having its origin in the hills in south Tibet. Passing through Nepal, it receives six tributaries. Its mainstream flows into the Ganges between Sonpur in the Sara district and Hajipur in the district of Muzaffarpur, while its lesser stream bifurcating at Basarh flows down into another river.

200 For Muktinātha, see, Dey, N. L., *Op. cit.*, p. 133 and for Śālagrama, *ibid.*, p. 174. *Illustrated Weekly of India* (Bombay), March, 4, 1956, p. 40.

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on or near Gaṇḍakī. Muktikṣetra should be identified with Muktinātha noted above. The Cakaratīrtha is probably the spot from which Śālagrāma stone are recovered. It must be remembered that Gaṇḍakī is also called Cakranadī in Paurāṇika-tradition. There are several Cakra-tīrthas in India and Nand Lal Dey[201] has noted the following five—(1) in Kurukṣetra, the same as Rāma-hrada, (2) in Prabhāsa in Saurāshṭra, on the river Gomatī, (3) six miles from Tryambaka, near the source of the Godāvarī, (4) in Banaras, a kuṇḍa or reservoir of this name near the Maṇikarṇikāghaṭ, and (5) in Rāmeśvara. Obviously none of the above five are intended by the author of the GPM. who mentions Cakratīrtha along with the Gaṇḍakī, Muktinātha and the Nīlakaṇtha in Nepal.[202]

Nīlakaṇṭha is a celebrated place of pilgrimage in Nepal containing the temple of Nīlakaṇṭha Mahādeva, at the foot of the Sheopuri peak, five miles north of Kāṭmaṇḍu. [203]

At Muktikṣetra is the celebrated temple of Nārāyaṇa, worshipped as Muktinātha. The temple is situated on the border of Nepal, on the river Kālī-Gaṇḍakī, in the Sapta-Gaṇḍakī range of the Himalayas, not far from the source of the Gaṇḍakī. It is about fifteen days' journey from Pālpā in Nepal, and four days' journey to the north of Bani-sahar, within half a mile of which the Gaṇḍakī takes the name of Śālagrāmī. [204]

Next is mentioned the Kāmākhyādevī in Kāmarūpa or Assam. According to Purāṇas, the capital of Kāmarūpa was Prāgjyotiṣ which has been identified with Kāmākhyā or Gauhati (JRAS., 1900, p. 25). Kāmākhyā is one of the Śakti-pīṭhas, a famous centre of Śakti-worship, containing the temple of Kāmākhyā-devī on the Nīlakūṭa-parvata, about two miles from Gauhati.[205] Kāmākhyā was a great centre of the sensual form of worship, the Vāma-mārga of the tantras. It is said that the genitals of the Śakti fell here when her body was cut into pieces by Viṣṇu.

According to the Brāhmaṇa Vājapeyin, of GPM., there were many more places of pilgrimage in the kingdom in which he lived.

In the GVM., the Sannyāsin asks his host about the different tīrthas in the Gauḍa-deśa, or Bengal. The host replies that in the Gauḍadeśa are situated the Gaṅgāsāgaratīrtha, the Kumārikā-kṣetra, the river Brahmaputrā, the

[201] *Op. cit.*, pp. 43 and 227.

[202] Also see, *Bhārata-Bhramaṇa*, Vol. III, pp. 671.

[203] Dey, N. L., *Op. cit.*, p. 141.

[204] Dey, N. L., *Op. cit.*, p. 133.

[205] For Kāmākhyā, see Bṛhat-Dharma-purāṇa, I, 14; Kālikā-purāṇa, chp. 62. Dey, N. L., *op. cit.*, p. 87. Also see, Kakati, Banikanta, *The Mother Kāmākhyā*.

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Kāmarūpeśvara and the goddess Kāmākṣī. The Gaṅgāsāgaratīrtha is already noted above.

The Kumārikā-kṣetra may be in the valley of the Kumārī river, which may be identified with the modern Kumārī river which waters the Dalma Hills in Manbhum.[206] The identification is, however, tentative. A Kumāra-deśa is mentioned in Mahābhārata, Sabhāparvan, adh. 29. Kumāravartanī is referred to in the Kāśyapa Samhitā, chp. 25, v. 7, along with Kaṭivarṣa[207] which latter is Koṭivarṣa, *i.e.*, Devakoṭ or Devikoṭ in the Pauṇḍravardhanabhukti.

There is a Kumārakhāli in Nadia District of Bengal (Imperial Gazetteer, Vol. XVI. 18), and a Kumārahāṭā, an ancient town, now known as Halisahar in Barackpore subdivison of 24 paragaṇas, Bengal, situated on the east bank of the Hooghly (Imp. Gaz., XIII. 11). It would be advisable to find out old Bengali traditions about Kumārahāṭā and about Kumārikākṣetra or Kumārikātīrtha. Is Kumārikākṣetra the same as Pārvatīpura in Bengal ?

Brahmaputra of GVP. obviously refers to the river Brahmaputrā and the Brahmaputratīrtha. There is a deep pool in the Brahmaputrā known by the name of Brahmakuṇḍa on the eastern boder of the Lakmipur district of Assam. Pasaśurāma, one of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu, is said to have surrendered his axe at this pool, with which he destroyed the kṣatriyas.[208] The pool is situated at the place where the river emerges from the moantains and is surrounded on every side by hills. It is frequently visited by Hindu pilgrims from various parts of India.

Kāmākṣī is the same as Kāmākhyā in Assam, discussed above. Kāmarūpeśvara must refer to some well-known temple of Śiva in Kāmarūpa or Assam. According to the Imperial Gazetteer (Vol. XIV. p. 325), one of the most important festivals connected with the temple of Kāmākhyā is the "Pous Bia, about Christmas time, when Kāmākhyā is married to Kāmeśvar." Very likely, the Kāmarupeśvara of our text is the Kāmeśvara referred to above.

Both the GPM. and the GVM. refer to the *durācāras* of various countries. Incidentally these lists refer to the various regions of India, which include Āndhradeśa, Karṇāṭaka, Draviḍa and Kerala-deśa, Koṅkaṇa, Gurjara-deśa, Uttara-deśa, Parvata-deśa, Mithilā, Gauḍa country, Kānyakubja-deśa, Utkala, Magadha, Candrāvatī, Kāśmīra, and Maharāṣṭra.

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[206] Law, B. C., *Rivers of India*, p. 45.

[207] Shah, U. P., *Geographical And Ethnic Data From The Kāśyapa Samhitā*, Journal of The Oriental Institute, Vol. VII. no. 4, June, 1958, pp. 279 ff.

[208] Law, B.C., *Hist. Geo, of Ancient India*, pp. 213-14. Also see, *Bhārata-Paribhramaṇa*, Vol. III. p. 710.

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Candrāvatī in the above list may refer to either the Candrāvatī in the district of Banaras on the left bank of the Gaṅgā [209] or the Candrāvatī in the old Zālāvāḍ State near Morak, or the Candrāvatī, near Mt. Abu, which was an ancient capital of the Paramāras of Abu, on the left bank of the western Banās. [210]

Parvata-deśa, known to Pāṇini and the Mudrārākṣasa is a region in the Punjab to the north-west of Multan between the Ravi and the Sutlej. [211] The Pārvatīya Samghas of Pāṇini are inhabitants of the country of Mountaineers extending from Kashmir to Afghanistan. [212]

Bījāpura or Vidyānagara and Canjīgrāma mentioned in the GPM. have already been referred to before.

Food and Drinks etc.

Both the GPM. and the GVM. contain interesting descriptions of the dinners given to Sannyāsins and Brāhmaṇas on anspicious days. The different items served require special treatment and were therefore not included in our discussion of the Social and Economic Data.

It may be remembered that both the GPM. and the GVM. were intended for beginners in Sanskrit who should learn words which would be useful in daily conversation. Thus we have long lists of birds, animals, fruits, flowers, trees, vegetables, etc. The different preparations used in eating and drinking are cleverly introduced in teaching by arranging a dinner on an anspicious day. Such lists of *Anna-Pāna, Flora and Fauna,* peoples and countries, etc., have invested these two texts with the character of a Varṇaka-grantha, typical examples of which are the Varṇaratnākara of Jyotirīśvara, or the Sabhāśṛṅgāra and different *Varṇaka*-texts edited and discussed by Dr. B. J. Sandesara in Varṇakasamuccaya, Vols. I and II.

We will first begin with the description of the Dinner-party (*Paṅkti-bhojana*) of the Brāhmaṇas as detailed in the GPM. (text, pp. 16 ff. giving references similar to dishes from the GVM.

Food was served on broad and long leaves of the plaintain-trees and cups made of leaves (*patra-puṭāni*) were also given to each guest for receiving liquid-foods.

Service began with *lavaṇa-śākas*. Service was done by *suvāsinīs* or married ladies. In the GPM., in reply to the query about the *lavaṇa-śākas* served, the

[209] Law, B. C. *op. cit.*, p. 73.

[210] *Ibid.*, p. 312.

[211] Dey, N. L., *Op. cit.*, p. 150.

[212] Also see, Agrawala, V. S., *India as Known to Pāṇini*, pp. 434, 436.

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Sannyāsin gives a list of several *śalāṭus*. It is then said that, after these, *śalāṭu-śākas* were served, and then a bigger list of *śalāṭuśākas* is given. Thus obviously the *śalāṭus* mentioned in the first list were actually *lavaṇa-śākas* and not *śalāṭus*. Since all the mss. utilised by us do not list them individually as *lavaṇaśākas*, it is difficult to say definitely whether originally the items in the first list were mentioned as आम्रलवणशाक, तिन्तिणीलवणशाक etc., rather than as आम्रशलाटु, तिन्तिणीशलाटु etc. In the GVM. (text, p. 25) we are told that salt was served first, then the *lavaṇa-śākas*. Then follows a list of *upadaṃśas*, which latter is followed by a list of several *śalāṭus*. After this follows a list of some *lavaṇa-śākas*, which includes, the *lavaṇa-śākas* of *kāravellas*, *śāla-falas*, and *garjaras*. These names would suggest that *lavaṇa-śākas* were *śākas* which were cut into pieces and salted. Probably they were not cooked or fried and were as it were seasoned with salt alone. It would be interesting to note that such preparations are called सालणुं (= सलवण) in Gujarati.[213] This inference is supported by the fact that in the GVM., after the list of above-mentioned three *lavaṇa-śākas*, we are told :— ततः परं नानाविधशाकान्परिविविपे । These latter might be the different *śākas*, potherbs, vegetables, etc. which were cooked and fried.

According to Amarakośa, 679—आमे फले शलाटुः स्याच्छुष्के वानमुभे त्रिषु ।—, *śalāṭu* is a preparation of fresh, unripe and undried fruits, while *vāna* is a preparation of dry fruits. Hemacandra (Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi, 4.1130) gives a similar explanation—फलं तु सस्यं तच्छुष्कं वानमामं शलाटु च ।

The *lavaṇa-śākas* of GPM. (text, p. 16—आम्रशलाटुः । etc.) are prepared from *āmra* (mango), *tintiṇī* (tamarind), *kavaka* (mushroom),[214] *nimbū* (common

[213] Sandesara, B. J. and Mehta, R. N., *Varṇaka-Samuccaya*, Vol. II, p. 18. In the *Bhojana-Bhakti*, a *Varṇaka* text publ. in *Varṇakasamuccaya*, I, p. 193 we find—पछी चारु पुरसिया **सालणां**, ते कीसा कीसा ? मुंगिया केरडा वाहलोल, काचा केला, चोलानि फली, नीला चिणां, अंबोल काचली, बावलीया, करेला—। Also in the *Jimaṇavāra—Paridhāna--Vidhi* in Varṇakasamuccaya, I, p. 178 we find—पछइं मिरी मांजरि, लिंबुआ, षारां, बीली, षारी सुंठि, खारी कइरी, कोहलानां खारा सेक्या, खारां कयर, खारी हलद्र, खारा वासेटा, एवंविध **सालणां**.

In the *Gurjararāsāvali* (G.O. Series Vol. 128), is published *Vidyāvilāsa-pavāḍau* of Hīrānanda (end of 15th cent. V.S.), where we find (on p. 101) the following :—

मूक्यां नव नव परि **सालणां** मूक्यां सरहा घी अतिघणां ।
मूंकी मांडी मुरकी सेव मूंकी खीर खांड घृत हेव ॥ ८३ ॥

Modi writing notes on it (p. 331) derives सालणां from Skt. सारणक > Ap. सालणअ and interprets it as 'a kind of liquid food' but the references in GPM. favour our explanation.

[214] This figures in the list of prohibited plants and vegetables in Manu, and in Gautama and Āpastamba Dharma sūtras, cf. Sen Gupta, S., *Food Prohibition in Smṛti texts*, Journ. of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters, Vol. XXII. no. 2, 1956, p. 188.

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lemon, Citrus Acida), *jamvīra* (a kind of citron),[215] *nārangī* (oranges), *bilva* (Bengal quince), *āmalakī* (Emblic Myrobalan), *karkaṭī* (cucumber), *audumbara* (= Gular in Hindi, Umbar in Marathi, Umbarḍo in Gujarati, Cluster fig or Gular fig), *śivā* (Chebulic myrobalan, *haritakī*).

It is then said that *lavaṇa-śākas* of *karīra* (bamboo-shoot) and *ārdraka* (ginger) were also served.

Śalāṭus are well-known to Gṛhyasūtras. *Udumbara-śalāṭu* is referred to in Śāṅkhā. Gṛhya-sū. 1.22. *Śalāṭu-grapsa* (bunch of unripe fruits) is mentioned in Āśvalāyana Gṛ. sū, 1. 14. 4, Pāraskara Gṛ. sū. 1. 15. 4, etc. *Bilva-śalāṭu* and *Jambū-śalāṭu* are referred to in Suśruta, 1. 377. 3, 2.431. 18, 2. 434. 14 etc.

The list of *śalāṭu-śākas* in the GPM. is noteworthy. These are preparations of unripe fruits, and potherbs or vegetables, which must have been cooked and served as *śākas*. These śalāṭu-śākas were prepared from fresh *vṛntāka* (brinjals), *kaliṅga* (watermelon, Mar., Kāliṅgaḍa, Guj., Kāliṅgaḍu or Taḍabūca, called kharbūja in Bhāvaprakāśa), *kāravella* (Momordica Charantina, Hindi, Karelā, Guj. Kārelā), *kuṣmāṇḍa* (Ash-gourd, Benincasa hispida[216] or Benincasa cerifera, a kind of pumpkin-gourd, Hindi, Kumhaḍā, Kohaḍā, Bengali, Kumaḍāgācha, Guj., Bhuru-kohaḷu), *alābū* (or *alābu*, bottle-gourd, Bengali, lāu, Lagenaria leucantha, Hindi, Kaddu, Tombī, Lambā Lauā, Grahā Lauā, Rāmatoraī, Marathi, Dudhyā Bhonpaḷā Guj., Dudhiu, Dudhalu, Dudhī, white gourd), *kadalī*, (plaintains, Hindi, Guj., Keḷā), *śimvī* (any pulse or grain growing in pods, a legume, Dolichos lablab, Śiṅga in Guj., there are several varieties in Sanskrit, such as, asiśimbī, khaḍgaśimbī, nīlaśimbikā, kolaśimbī, Guj , tuvara, choḷā, maga, maṭha, aḍada etc., would come under this class, Hindi sema = Guj. Śiṅga), *ghṛta-kośātakī* (Luffaprntaundra, is a variety of kośātakī, known as mahākośātakī in Sanskrit, Ghiyātoraī in Hindi, Gosāḷī in Marathi, and Galakān in Gujarati; *Kośātakī* generally signifies toraī in Hindi, Turiyān in Guj., and Śiralī or Doḍakī in Marathī, and Dhārvī toraī in Kanarese), *panasa* (Jack-fruit, Artocarpus integrifolia, Hindi, Kaṭahara or Kaṭahala or Faṭaila, Bengali, Kāmṭāla, Guj. & Marathi, Faṇasa), *śigru* (Drumstick, Moringa oleifera, M. pterygospermum, *Śigru* or Śobhāñjana is of two types, Śvetaśigru, and Raktaśigru as shown in Śāligrāma—Nighaṇṭu, pp. 326 ff. *Śigru* = Hindi, sainjinā, Guj.,

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[215] cf. : रयुजम्बीरे दन्तशठजम्भजम्भीरजम्भला: । *Amarakośa*, 697. It is a variety of lemon, *citrus limonium*, Nadkarṇi, K. M., *Indian Materia Medica* (3rd ed.), pp. 346 ff. Caraka mentions it in *Harita-varga*, hence *Jambīra* may not be a fruit. Its identification is uncertain. However see Bhānuji Dīkṣit's comm. on Amara., 697 and 807 (*i.e.* Amara., II. 4. 24 & 79.)

[216] Also see, *Bhāvaprakāśa*, Vol. I (Kāśī Skt. Series, Banaras, V.S. 1985), pp. 524 ff.

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saragavo, Mar., Śegaṭa or Śevagā, Bengali, sajinā), *paṭolī* (may be same as *paṭola* = Trichosanthes Cucumerina, or Trichosanthes Dioica, paḍavaḷa or paḍavara in Mar., paravaḷa in Guj.), *bimbikā* (may be the same as Tiktatuṇḍī or Tiktabimbī or tuṇḍi, Cephalandra indica, which, according to *Nighaṇṭu-Ādarśa*, Vol. I, p. 572, is sometimes used as a *śāka*. In Bhāvaprakāśa (with Hindi notes), Vol. I (Kāśī Skt. Series), p. 529, bimbī = Hindi kundurū, Mar. tonḍalī, Guj. ṭinḍorā, Coccinia Indica), *urvāraka* (is a species of cucumber, Cucumis Usitatissimus, its fruit might have been used in śalāṭu-śāka, *Mṛgervāru*, according to Śāligrāma-Nighaṇṭu-bhūṣaṇa, p. 898, is Pubescent Cucumber, Cucumis Pubescenes = cibūḍa in Mar., Kacariā in Hindi, Cibhaḍā in Gujarati, the text also identifies it with Guj. koṭhimbā), *tindiśa* (according to Indian Materia Medica, p. 1, it is the same as *karaparṇaphala* (Sanskrit), Bhiṇḍā (Gujarati), Bheṇḍe (Marathi), Edible Hibiscus or ladies' fingers, Hibiscus esculentus), *rājamāṣa* (cow-pea, asparagus bean, Vigna sinensis, V. catjang, Beng., varvaṭī, Guj., coḷā, Mar., camvḷyā, Hindi, loviyā), *karkarī* (v. l. *karkaṭī*, may be Cucumis sativus or Cucumis utilissimus, Sanskrit, cirbhiṭa;[217] *karkaṭis* are of several varieties and the Śāligrāma—Nighaṇṭu—Bhuṣaṇa, pp. 895 ff., mentions varieties of karkaṭi such as *araṇya-karkaṭi*, *tikta-karkaṭi Cīnāka-karkaṭī*, etc. Our text also mentions a *gorakṣa-karkaṭī-śalāṭu-śāka*[218]), *rājadanta-phala* (is unidentified, if, like rājakadalī, a variety of kadalī, and rājajambū, a variety of jambū, it is to be treated as a variety of danta-or dantī-phala, then it would be difficult to imagine that it was used as a *śāka*, since, dantī acts as a very strong purgative. If the original reading was *rāja-phala* and not rājadanta-phala, then rāja-phala = jambu fruit, Jambul or Black plum, Hindi, Jāman, Jāmoon, Guj., jāmbū, Mar., Jambul, Engenia Jambolana), *Gorakṣakarkaṭī* (mentioned next, is difficult to identify, Cakrapāṇi identifies it with *Mṛgervāru* and *Gavākṣī*, while Śrīkanṭha, the commentator of Vṛnda, identifies it with *Indrasurā* and *Nirguṇḍī*, see, *Nighaṇṭu-Ādarśa*, I. p. 570 for a discussion on this), *sukhāvāsa* (unidentified, if the original reading were *śukanāsā*, then it would be *śyonāka* or *arlu*, Colosanthes indica, it is however difficult to suggest any definite emendation), *kulaka* (acc. to commentaries on Caraka, it is either *kāravellakam* or a *paṭola-bheda*,[219] but since kāravella and paṭola are already occurring separately in our list, we might take it as a variety of *paṭola*. *Kulakam* is identified as Nux-Vomica or Strychnine tree in *Indian Materia Medica*, Vol. I.

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217 Acc. to Sen Gupta, S., *op. cit.*, p. 195. Also see, *Śāligrāma-Nighaṇṭu-Bhūṣaṇa*, p. 893.

218 For different varieties of *karkaṭī*, see, Vaidya, B. G., *Nighaṇṭu-Ādarśa*, I. p. 562 ff.

219 *Nighaṇṭu-Ādarśa*, II. p. 663. Also see *Nighaṇṭa-Ratnākara (Bombay, 1936)*, Vol. I, Index, p. 40.

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p. 1175), *karkoṭakī* (Mormodica Dioica, Hindi, kamkoḍā, Mar., kāmkaḍī or karṭolī, Guj. kamṭoli or kamkoḍā), *rājāvu* or *rājābu* (V. L. rājālābu is preferable, rājālābu is Marathi, Dūdhabhompaḷā, Guj., Dudhī, Sanskrit, Madhurālābu, white gourd, Cucurbeta lagenaria[220]), *bārhata* (may be *bṛhati-phala*, Solenum Xanthocarpum, its use as śalāṭu-śāka in India is not known to me, but *Bhojana-kutūhala*, I. p. 86 renders it as Marathi *ḍoralī* and describes as a *śāka*, a variety of brinjals), *kaṭhillaka* (is rendered as kāravella in Amarakośa, 957, generally the word is used for parṇāsa, varṣābhū and kāravella. B. G. Vaidya in his Nighaṇṭu-Ādarśa, II, p. 658 prefers to take it as punarnavā, Boerhavia repens), *karkārū* (according to Amara., 959 is kūṣmāṇḍaka, but kūṣmāṇḍaka is already referred to before, so we must take karkārū as a variety of kūṣmāṇḍa, which, according to Śāligrāma-Nighaṇṭu-Bhūṣaṇa, pp. 890 f., quoting Bhāvaprakāśa, is called kūṣmāṇḍī), *citrā* (acc. to Amara., 823, citrā, upacitrā, nyagrodhī, dravantī, śambarī, vṛṣā, etc. are names of mūṣakaparṇi, and acc. to Amara., 961, citrā = gavākṣī or goḍumbā, which is known as *kavamḍaḷa* in Marathi; possibly mūṣaka-parṇī, Ipomaea Reniformis is intended here), *śreyasī* (may be *gajapippalī* or *kapivallī*, Scindapsus officinalis.[221] According to Cakrapāṇidatta, śreyasī = rāsnā, but identification of rāsnā is uncertain, see, Vaidya, B. G., Nighaṇṭu-Ādarśa, II. pp. 648-49).

The above analysis of the list of *śalāṭu-śākas* will show that probably *śalāṭu* was loosely used in the general sense of any undried or unripe fruit or potherb or vegetable and not necessarily in the sense of unripe or undried fruits alone. This is inferred because in cases like *kaṭhillaka* = *punarnavā*, which is a *patra-śāka*, the sense of *śalāṭu* = *apakva-fala* alone will not do. Or was *kaṭhillaka* used here in some other sense?

Śalāṭu-śāka of *kadalī* or plaintains is referred to above. It is interesting to note that several varieties of *kadalī*[221] are noted in *Bhojanakutūhala*, I. pp. 87-89. Being interesting and less known, I quote the relevent verses:—

महारम्भाफलं शीतं तुष्टिपुष्टिकरं गुरु ।
रक्तपित्तहरं वृष्यं तीव्राग्नीनां प्रशस्यते ॥

महाकदली ।

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[220] The reading might as well have been *rājālu*. For *rājālu*, see *Nighaṇṭa-Ratnākara*, I. p. 5, according to which it is राजालु in Mar. (a variety of अळवी in Guj.). Since most of the *śalāṭu-śākas* noted above are fruits, we might take *rājālu* as Bokhara Plum, Prunus Communis.

[221] *Nighaṇṭu-Ādarśa*, II. 570, and App. B, p. 678. The Bhāvaprakāśa, Miśraprakaraṇa, Harītakyādivarga, Verse 68, identifies śreyasī as kapivallī = gajapippalī, Scindaspus officinalis, see, *Bhāvaprakāśa* with Hindi notes, Vol. I (Kaśī Skt. Series), p. 214.

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स्यात्काष्ठकदली रुच्या रक्तपित्तहरा हिमा ।
गुरुर्मन्दाग्निजननी दुर्जरा मधुरा परा ॥

कटकेळी ।

सुवर्णमोचा मधुरा हिमा च बल्याऽशने दीपनकारिणी च ।
तृषापहा दाहविमोचनी च कफापहा वृष्यकरी गुरुश्च ॥

तथा---

क्षुद्रं रम्भाफलं शीतं स्वादुपाकरसं गुरु ।
पित्तप्रदरदाहघ्नं वृष्यं नात्यर्थदीपनम् ॥

सोनकेळी ।

गिरिकदली हिममधुरा बलवीर्यविवृद्धिदायिनी रुचिरा ।
तृट्पित्तदाहशोषप्रशमनकरी दुर्जरा च गुरुः ॥

वनकदळी ।

कृष्णं रम्भाफलं रुच्यं कषायमधुरं तथा ।
मेहं पित्तं तृषां हन्ति बृंहणं वातलं लघु ॥

काळकेळि ।

सुगन्धा कृष्णरम्भा च शैलरम्भा यथोत्तरम् ।
निन्दिताः फलमासां तु कषायं मधुरं गुरु ॥
रम्भाफलत्वक्कटुका तिक्ता पित्तहरा लघुः ।

The Nighaṇṭa-ratnākara, I. pp. 50 ff., (composed in c. 1867 A.D.) gives properties of कोमल-कदलं, मध्यम-कदलं, अपक्वकदलं, पक्वकदलं, सामान्यकदलं, of the flowers of the plaintain tree, of the कदलीसार, of the कदलीकन्द, of the कदलीजल and then describes properties of अरण्यकदली (Mar. वनकदली or रानकेळ), काष्ठकदली (Mar. लोखंडीकेळ), सुवर्णकदली (सोनकेळ in Mar., सोनेरी केळां in Guj.), महिषीकदली (Mar. म्हशीकेळ), and कृष्णकदली (Mar. काळी केळ).[222]

The Varṇaka-samuccaya, I, speaks of कुंकणां केलां (p. 172) and कुंकणीआं केलां (p. 199) both of which may be those specially grown in the Konkan, the राजेलां केलां (pp. 172, 199) still known as राजली केळां are available in Bombay, and are used by the Deccan people in several preparations, including a kind of मोदक (sweet-balls) made of these plaintains, coconut, sugar etc. The Varṇaka-samuccaya, also refers to नाथसिंघेलां केलां (p. 172), वाघेलां केलां (p. 172) सुठेलां केलां (p. 172) and सोनेलां केलां (p. 172).

The different texts in the Varṇakasamuccaya show that slices of plaintains and mangoes were served.

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222 काष्ठकदली, गिरिकदली and सुवर्णकदली are noted in धन्वन्तरीयनिघण्टु (Ānandāśrama series no. 33), p. 149. The *Bhāvaprakāśa*, pūrvakhaṇḍa, āmrādivarga, says that there are several varieties of कदली such as माणिक्यक०, मर्त्यक०, अमृतक०, चम्पककदली etc. चम्पककदली is possibly the सोनकदली noted above.

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The Dhanvantari-Nighaṇṭu and the Rāja-Nighaṇṭu refer to two varieties of *Āmra*, the *kṣudrāmra* or the *koṭāmra* and the *rājāmra*.[223] The Bhāvaprakāśa, Miśraprakaraṇa, Āmraphalādi varga, describes the properties of āmra-khaṇḍa, the slices of mangoes, referred to as आंबानी कातली in the Varṇakasamuccaya, Vol. I. pp. 172, 184, 189, 199. The Bhāvaprakāśa incidentally refers to दुग्धाम्र which may be a mixture of milk and mangoes.

Incidentally it may be noted that the Bhāvaprakāśa, composed in the 16th century A.D., gives in the above chapter, another preparation of mangoes, called आम्रावर्त्त, prepared as under—

पक्वस्य सहकारस्य पटे विस्तारितो रसः ।
घर्मशुष्को मुहुर्दत्त आम्रावर्त्त इति स्मृतः ॥ १५ ॥
आम्रावर्त्तस्तृषाच्छर्दिवातपित्तहरः सरः ।
रुच्यः सूर्यांशुभिः पाकाल्लघुश्च स हि कीर्त्तितः ॥ १६ ॥

The preparation is known as अमावट, आमावट or आम का सत्त in Hindi, and आंब्याचे साट or आंब्याची पोळी in Marathi.

Kṣemakutūhala, an interesting work on dietetics, composed at Akolā in V.S. 1605 = 1548 A.D., gives another preparation called आम्रपानकम्[224]—

आम्रमामं परिस्विन्नं मर्दितं मुष्टिना दृढम् ।
पयसाऽर्धयुते तोये शर्करामरिचान्विते ॥ ५२ ॥
अपक्वाम्ररसोद्भूतं पानकं वातनाशनम् ।
कफपित्तकरं किञ्चित्प्रत्यहं यदि सेवितम् ॥ ५३ ॥

Such preparations of unripe mangoes, often without milk, are still used in summer in many parts of India, and are known as बाफलो in Gujarati, पन्हें in Marathi.

Kṣemakutūhala gives the following drink prepared from ripe mangoes[225]—

सुपक्वमाम्रस्य फलं सुमुष्टिना संमर्दितं शर्करया समन्वितम् ।
एलालवङ्गार्द्रकवासवासितं वर्णान्वितं कस्य न रोचकप्रदम् ॥ ५४ ॥
पानकं त्वाम्रसंभूतं स्वाद्वम्लं गुरु पित्तजित् ।
सुहृद्यं श्लेष्मकृद्बल्यं वर्ण्यं वृष्यं रुचिप्रदम् ॥ ५५ ॥

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[223] *Dhanvantarinighaṇṭu* and *Rājanighaṇṭu* (Ānandāśrama series), pp. 170-171.

The राजाम्रs are the superior varieties of कलमी आम (Hindi) including such varieties as हाफुस etc. The कोशाम्रs are the smaller fruits of mangoes, often growing in hilly parts.

[224] *Kṣemakutūhalam*, ed. by Yādavaji Trikamji Ācārya (Nirṇayasāgar Press, Bombay, 1920), p. 106.

[225] Ibid., p. 107. The text further gives drinks (पानकs) prepared from अम्लिकाफल, जम्बूफल, बीजपूर, निम्बूफल, कारमर्द, नारङ्गफल, जम्बीर, बदरफल and चारवृक्षफल.

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रसाला or शिखरीणि (modern Guj. श्रीखंड) was also prepared by addition of fruits in दधि. The Kṣemakutūhala, pp. 105 ff. describes such preparations of मोचाफल (कदली), खार्बुज (water-melon) and आम्र.

Fruits were not only used in *śalāṭu-śākas* or in drinks (as noted above), but also in preparations of certain sweets. The Kṣemakutūhala (p. 92) describes a preparation of घृतपूर (modern घेवर, घेबर in Hindi, Guj.) with ripe mangoes—

पक्वाम्रस्य घृते तृप्ते रसस्तलनपिण्डितः ।
शुद्धशर्करया योज्यो घृतपूरो यदृच्छया ॥ ९५ ॥
क्षीरमात्मानुरूपं हि खण्डचूर्णं ततः रमृतम् ।
योजितो यो विशेषोऽत्र तदाख्यापूर्णसंज्ञितः ॥ ९६ ॥
घृतपूरो गुरुर्वृष्यो हृद्यः पित्तानिलापहः ।
सद्यः प्राणप्रदो बल्यः सुरुच्योऽग्निप्रदीपनः ॥ ९७ ॥
शृङ्गाटकमखाणानामप्येवं घृतपूरकाः ।
विचार्य वस्तुसंयोगं तद्गुणानपि चावदेत् ॥ ९८ ॥

The Kṣemakutūhala (pp. 53 ff) describes preparations of various *śākas*, namely, पत्रशाकs, पुष्पशाकs, नालशाकs, कन्दशाकs and मूलशाकs. The work is interesting in as much as it describes the actual preparation of these *śākās*, and not merely gives a list with properties as in other Vaidyaka works.

The GVM. merely refers to śalāṭus of *bṛhatī-fala*, *alābu*, *kadalīkusuma*, and *kadalīgarbha* and does not specify whether they were *lavaṇaśākas* or *śalāṭuśākas*. Possibly they were *śalāṭuśākas*, and not mere *śalāṭus*, for the GVM. further refers to *lavaṇa-śākas* of *kāravella*, *śāla-fala* (Shorea robusta), *garjarās* (= gājar in Guj. and Mar., gṛñjanaka in Sanskrit, Carrot root) and other *śākas*.

The GPM. specifies the *kandaśākas* and the *patraṣākas*. It would, therefore, be natural to suppose that all *śalāṭu-śākas* of the GPM. are *fala-śākas*. The *kandaśākas* of the GPM. are made of the bulbous roots (*kanda*) of *sūraṇa* (Amorphophallus campanulatus, sūraṇa in Guj., śūraṇa or jimikanda in Hindi, sūraṇā in Kanarese), āluka (may be either potatoes or another root known as अळु in Mar. and अळवी in Gujarati, here it possibly means potatoes since later in the text we find अर्वीमूलकन्द which is a Sanskritization of अळवी-अळु), *mūlaka* (= *hastidantaka*, a variety of raddish), *raktamūlakakanda*, *raktālukanda* (may be modern Guj. *ratāḷu*, Mar. *rātāḷe*, Hindi, *ratālu* or *śakarkandī*, Batatas Esculatus or Batatas Edulis), *piṇḍaka* (= gṛñjanaka, carrot root), *arvīmūla* (may be Mar. अळु, great leaved caledium, Erum Indicum), and *pothikā* (? This may be *Potíkā* or *Pautikā*, Fever-nut, Bengali Nāṭākarañja, Caesalpinia crista ; C. bonducella. [226]).

[226] Sen Gupta, S., *Op. cit.*, p. 197. Since *Pothikā* is here mentioned as a *kanda-śāka* and not a *patra-śāka*, we cannot take it as Guj. *Puini-Bhāji*, Skt. *Upodakī*, Indian spinach, Basella rubra.

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The GPM. next gives a list of *patra-śākas*, they are:—*śākinī* (? does this refer to करीर or Capparis aphylla ?), *vāstu* (may be the same as vāstūka=kṣāra-patra, Guj. cīlanī bhāji, Mar. cākravata, Hindi, bathuā, white goose-foot, Chenopodium album ?), *upodakī* (Indian spinach, Basella rubra, Guj. poi, Mar. mayāl, Hindi, poi), *cakravarta* (? is it *cakramardda* = *prapunnāṭa* ? In that case it is Guj. kunvāḍio, Mar. ṭākaḷā or taravaṭā, Hindi, cakundā or pamāḍa, Cassia tora[227]) *mūlaka* (leaves of raddish), *āluka* (may refer to leaves āluka or अळू, Mar. aḷun, Guj. aḷavī[228]), *agastya* (may be the same as *agasti* = *munidruma*, *dīrghaśimbī*, *vakrapuṣpi*, Guj. agathio, Mar. agastā, Hindi, hatiā, large-flowered agati, Sesbania Grandiflora. Its properties are described in Bhāvaprakāśa Suśruta, etc. If the identification is correct, then its use as a *patra-śāka* is interesting[229]), *śigru* (drumstick, Beng. sajinā, Moringa oleifera, Skt., Saubhāñjana[230]), *somavallī* (the identification of this creeper is doubtful[231]) *kāṇḍīra*[232] (?), *kusumbha* (safflower, Carthamus tinctorius, the Rājanighaṇṭu notes the properties of *kausumbha-śāka*, Gujarati kasumbo[233]), *kuraṇṭaka*

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[227] However, it does not seem to be same as cakramardda. The *Bṛhadyogataraṅgiṇī* of Trimallabhaṭṭa, (Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series no. 71, Poona, 1913), Vol. I. p. 156 gives the following properties of *Cakravarti-śākam* and *Cakramardam* .— अथ चक्रवर्तीशाकम् ।

चक्रवर्त्यभिधं शाकं गुणैर्वास्तूकवन्मतम् ॥ ३० ॥
सरं शीतं त्रिदोषघ्नं लघु दीपनपाचनम् ।
××× अथ चक्रमर्दम्—
दद्रुघ्नजं लघु स्वादु शाकं वातहरं मतम् ॥ ४२ ॥

[228] For *ālūka* as a *mūlaśāka*, see *Bṛhadyogataraṅgiṇī*, I. p. 161, for *ālukī*, p. 160.

[229] *Nighaṇṭu-Ādarśa*, I. pp. 332 ff.

[230] *Bṛhadyogataraṅgiṇi*, I. p. 159; Sen Gupta, S., *Op. cit.*, p. 199.

[231] For references to some of the identifications of Soma and for its notices in Vaidyaka works, see, *Nighaṇṭu-Ādarśa*, II. pp. 65-79. It is, however, interesting to note that a *somavallī* was used as a *patra-śāka* in the age of the GPM.

[232] Cf. *Dhanvantarīya-Nighaṇṭu* (Ānandāśrama S. Series, no. 33) p. 146—

काण्डीरः काण्डकटुको नासासंवेदनः पटुः ।
उग्रकाण्डस्तोयवल्ली कारवल्ली सुकाण्डकः ॥

The Śāligrāma-Nighaṇṭu-bhūṣana gives Kāravella =Ugrakāṇḍa. Thus if *kāṇḍīra*=*kāravella*, then it is Mar. *kārale*, Guj. *kārelā*, Hindi, *karelā*, Hairy Mordica, Memordica Choratia. It may be noted that here the reference is to a *patra-śāka*, and not to the fruits of *kāravella*.

[233] *Nighaṇṭu-Ādarśa*, I. 644 ff. Also see, *Śāligrāma-Nighaṇṭu-Bhūṣaṇa*, p. 883.

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(= *kiṃkirāta* or *pītapuṣpa-saireyaka* is Guj. kāṭāśeriyo, Barleria Prionitis[234]), *miśreyā* (= *miśi*, *bṛhayālī*, *madhurāmiśi* in Skt, Guj. variāḷī, valiyārī or variyāḷī, Hindi, Saunfa, Bengali, Maurī, Fenel seed, Foeniculum vulgaroe[235]), *samaṣṭhilā* (= *gaṇḍīra* acc. to Amarakośa, 4.157[236]), *dadrughna* (= *cakramardaka*, *Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi*, 1158, the same as *prapunnāta* in Skt., kunvāḍio in Guj., ṭākaḷā or taravaṭā in Mar., cakundā in Hindi, Cassia tora. Dadrughna as a patra-śāka is ref. to in Śāligrāma-Nighaṇṭu-bhūṣaṇa p. 882.), *vṛddhadāru* (= *antahkoṭarapuṣpī*, *chagalāntrī*; vardhāro or samudraśoṣa in Guj., samudrasokha in Hindi, Argyreia speciosa) *śrīhastinī* (acc. to *Nighaṇṭa-ratnākara* (I, Index, p. 197), it is Mar. thora kuraṇḍikā, on *ibid.*, p. 219, *hastinī* is explained as Mar. thora karañja, thora indrāvaṇī, and also *as karaṇḍaka*, thus *hastinī* has three senses, and *śrī-hastinī* is probably = hastinī. For Mar. *thora kuraṇḍikā*, = Guj. nāno āgio, Ammania Vesicatoria, see, *Śāligrāma-Nighaṇṭu-bhūṣaṇa*, p. 1229 and for Mar. *thora karañja* = Guj. karañja, *ibid.*, pp. 335 ff.),[237] *hilasā* (may be *hilamocikā* = Beng. helencā, Hindi, hurahuc or hurahula, referred to in Bhāvaprakāśa, Śodhala, etc., Enhydra fluctuanus[238]), *taṇḍulīyaka* (= *alpamāriṣa*, *meghanāda*, *paṇyaśāka* (Skt.), Guj. tāndalajo, Mar. tāndulajā, Hindi, Caulāi kā śāka, Amarnthus Poligamous), and *kadalī-stambha* (from plaintain tree).

The GPM. now refers to *puṣpa-śākas* of *kadalī* (banana), *agastya* (=muni-druma, ref. to above), and ghṛtakumārī (?). Thus four types of *śākas*, namely, *fala-śāka*, *kanda-śāka*, *patra-śāka* and *puṣpa-śāka*, were served to the sannyāsin in the GPM. Different Āyurvedic texts give properties of different śākas coming under the above classes. A comparison of such lists from Caraka, Suśruta, Vāgbhaṭa, Dhanvantari-Nighaṇṭu and still later works would give us an idea of the different śākas used in different times. *Śāka* is generally of six kinds as defined by Trimallabhaṭṭa in his Bṛhadyogataraṅgiṇī (p. 153)—

पत्रं पुष्पं फलं कन्दं नालं भूस्वेदजं तथा ।
शाकं षड्विधमुद्दिष्टं गुरु विद्याद्यथोत्तरम् ॥

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[234] *Ibid*, II. pp. 219 ff. Its use as a patra-śāka is interesting, if the identification is correct.

[235] See also, *Nighaṇṭu-Ādarśa*, I. pp. 600 ff.

[236] Acc. to *Rājanighaṇṭu* it is *nadyāmra*, acc. to *Dhanvantarīya-Nighaṇṭu*, p. 334,—समष्ठिलश्च भण्डीरो नद्याम्रश्चाम्रगन्धकृत् । काकाम्र कण्टकिफलोऽप्युपदंशो मुनिह्वयः ॥ There is a V.L. गण्डीर for भण्डीर. Amarakośa gives गण्डीर = समष्ठिला acc. to Rāmāśramī comm. on above, it is गाण्डरदूर्वी, an अनूपजशाकभेद, called गडिनी in भाषा.

[237] Rājanighaṇṭu (Ānandāśrama S. Series), p. 432 gives, for *hastinī*,—गवादनी चैव दूर्वा गण्डदूर्वा च हरितनी ।

[238] *Nighaṇṭu-Ādarśa*, I. pp. 656-657 notes its use as a *patra-śāka*. Hila-mocikā is not ref. to in Caraka, Suśruta or Vāgbhaṭa, but is known to Amarakośa, 3.157. The Rāmāśramī comm. on above notes एकं 'हिलसाल' इति ख्यातस्य ।

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The Bhāvaprakāśa, in the tenth varga entitled śāka-varga, gives the above verse and reads संस्वेदजं for भूस्वेदजं. It seems that only five principal divisons of *śākas* were commonly used in the age of the Carakasamhitā, compare—

सकषायं च सर्वं हि स्वादु शाकमुदाहृतम् ।
पुष्पं पत्रं फलं नालं कन्दाश्च गुरवः क्रमात् ॥

च. सं., सूत्रस्थान, अ. ४६, श्लो. २९६.

It will be interesting to note here a milk-preparation described as क्षीरशाक by Kṣemakutūhala—

विनष्टदुग्धं खण्डं च तलयेत्तप्तसर्पिषि ।
तन्निर्द्रवं खण्डसमं क्षीरशाकमिदं स्मृतम् ॥

क्षे. कु., १०.६९, पृ. ८९

The eighth chapter of the Kṣemakutūhala (pp. 53 ff.) gives in the general the method of preparation of different śākas and then describes how the different śākas are prepared.[239]

The GVM. (text, p. 25) says that first salt was served, then the *lavaṇa-śākas*. It then names several *upadaṁśas*, *Upadaṁśa* is here used, not in the sense of a (venereal) disease, but in the sense of a 'relish'.[240] V. S. Agrawal, in his-India as known to Pāṇini, p. 110, refers to the "practice of munching with food such digestive roots as radish and ginger, called *upadaṁśa.*" I am afraid *upadaṁśa*, did not mean a 'spice' as Monier-Williams Dictionary suggests, though spices like ginger and pepper could be used as *upadaṁśas* to be munched with food. These *upadaṁśas* of raddish, ginger etc., were either used without any salt etc., or possibly raddish, ginger, cucumber etc. were

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239 The lists of the different śākas from Kṣemakutūhala, Bhojanakutūhala and the GPM. and the GVM. should be compared, for these will give an idea of the different śākas eaten in the 16th and 17th centuries A.D. On p. 66, the Kṣemakutūhala gives an interesting dialogue amongst three śākas, namely, *poyikā*, *śatapuṣpā* and *methikā*.

Both the Kṣemakutūhala and the Bhojanakutūhala (Vol. I) are further noteworthy in as much as the local names are given therein along with Sanskrit classical names of the different śākas.

240 cf. *Monier-Williams Dict.*, (1956 ed.), p. 198, where *upa-damśam*, (ind. p.) = having taken an additional bit or morsel of, Pāṇini, iii, 4, 47; Kāśikā Vṛtti on Pāṇ., ii. 2, 21. *Upadaṁśa*, m., = anything eaten in addition (to excite thirst or appetite), a relish, spice.

Also cf. मूलकेनोपदंशं भुङ्क्ते, *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇ., iv. 1. 48; द्वित्रानुपदंशानुपपाद्य, *Daśakumāracarita* (Bombay ed.), 133; माषान्मरिचोपदंशान्, *Suśruta*, 2. 441, 16; 2. 448, 14; 2. 487. 16; मांसोपदंशम्, *Suśruta.*, 2. 514. 21; 2. 526. 4. Acc. to Nārāyaṇa Bedarkar's Comm. on Naiṣadhīyacaritam, 22. 149, even पर्पट is an उपदंश.

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(cut into pieces and) salted. The GVM. mentions *upadaṁśas* of the following —*āmra* (mangoes), *nimbūfala* (lemon), *śṛṅgavera* (= *ārdraka, viśvabhaiṣajya,* Skt.; ādu in Guj., ginger), *sūraṇa* (noted before in *kanda-śākas*, Amorphophallus campanulatus), *dhātrīfala* (= *āmalakī*, Emblic Myrobalans, Phylanthus emblica, āmbaḷān in Guj., āmvaḷe in Mar., āṃbaḷā in Hindi), *badarīfala* (= Guj. bora, Mar. bora or bahera, Hindi, ber or beri, Bengali kulabarui, jujub, Zyziphus jujuba), *vṛntāka* (brinjals), *karavanda* (= *karamardaka, kṣīrafalam, kaṅṭakī* in Skt., karmadā in Guj., karavandī, karandā, or kāranda in Mar., karondī in Hindi ; Jasmine flowered Carissa, Carissa Carandas. Karmarda is known to Bhāvaprakāśa, Vāgbhaṭa, Suśruta, and others, but here since *karavanda* is used for skt. *karamardaka*, the author of the GVM. seems to have hailed from Mahārāṣṭra), *mūlaka* (raddish), *kīcakāṅkura* (bamboo sprouts)[241], and *urvāruka* (also noted above in *śalāṭu-śākas* of GPM., a species of cucumber, Cucumis Usitatissimus).

It will be seen from the above list that *karavanda, kīcakāṅkura* etc. would not be tasteful if munched without addition of salt. So it is not unlikely that *upadaṁśas* were used optionally with or without addition of salt.

The *Bojanakutūhala* of Raghunātha (c. 1650-1700 A.D.) gives a long list of *upadamśas*,[242] which is indeed interesting, but since it gives another list of *harītakas* in the *Harita-prakaraṇa* [243] a confusion might arise about the original use of śalāṭus, upadaṁśas and *harītakas*. *Śalāṭus* are unripe fruits, *harītakas* are fresh, green, undried fruits, pot-herbs, roots etc., which are edible, while *upadamśas* may be ripe or unripe and are munched while taking meals. The *harītakas* would be upadamśas when munched during dinner. They can be

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241 Cf. *karīra-lavaṇa-śākam* of GPM. (text, p. 16).

212 *Bhojanakutūhala*, I. pp. 110-114. The list includes नारङ्गम्, जाम्बीरम्, मधुजम्बीर, निम्बू, मातुलुङ्ग (महालुङ्ग), बालाम्र, क्षुद्राम्र, लवणाम्रफल, भाविका (आवाडें), कटुकीफल (सोंडेकाई), कटुकिकाफल (पक्वसोंडेकाई), अलर्क (मूलसोंडेकाई, गोरखिरिंगणी), अक्षीर or अक्षीय (व्याहडे), कतक (चिलवीज), बिल्वफल, धात्री (आवळें), सल्लकीफल (सालफळें), पफण (फांपटें), महाशेलुफल (भोंकरें), वंशकरीरक (वंशांकुर), माकन्दी (मायणीमूल), भ्रमरी (भोंवरिसालि). The names in brackets are Mar. or local equivalents given in the text itself.

243 *Bhojanakutūhala*, I. pp. 108-110. The haritas enumerated here are :— आम्रहरीतकम्, or आम्रहारीतम्, वैम्बं हरितं (तोंडल्याचें हरीतक), मूलकहरित, कारवेल्कम् ह० (कारल्यांचे), रम्भाकाण्डज-ह०, कैडर्यपत्रज-ह० (कृष्णनिम्बस्य), शृङ्गवेरस्य ह० (बालार्द्रकस्य), प्रौढार्द्रकस्य, गजकर्णीकन्दभवं ह०, कूश्माण्डखण्डसम्भूतं सूक्ष्मं हरितकम्, असिशिम्बिफलकम् (खरशिंबीकृतम्), वृन्ताकस्य, बालवृन्ताकस्य, माकन्दिकायाः (माइणीमूलजम्), पारेवतफल-ह० (उत्तनीभवम्), तोयमागधिका-ह० (जलपिंपलीभवम्), कदलीफलच्छलि-ह० (कादळछल्लीजम्), सारिवाहरितमूल-ह० (वनमाइणमूलजम्), त्रपुस ह० (सर्ववालुकानाम्), महाबदरजं ह०, कोशातकी-ह० (दोडक्याचें), पटोलभवम्.

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eaten like fruits etc., even before or after meals and are not cooked or baked.[244] This does not exclude the use of *haritas* during meals. *Haritas* were sometimes mixed with salt and spices as can be seen from the following hārīta of brinjals :—

वृन्ताकं खण्डितं सूक्ष्मं शृङ्गवेराम्लमिश्रितम् ।
भावितं हिङ्गुमरिचैः पटुयुग्वातदोषनुत् ॥

—Bhojanakutūhala, p. 109.

The GPM. after referring to *puṣpa-śākas,* notes the śaḷāṭuvānas or vānas served in the feast. The term śalāṭuvānas would be puzzling since in the list only *vānas, e.g., kāravellavānah,* etc. (text, p. 17), are given. Possibly the author intended to say that both śalāṭus and vānas cooked in ghee were served. Since all the mss. used by us read *ghṛtapācitaśalāṭuvānāh,* we cannot omit the word śalāṭu from the text. *Vānam* is dry fruit. So dried *vānas* of *kāravella, bhaṇṭākī, kaṭhillaka, niṣpāva, rājamāṣa, kaṇṭakāri, bṛhatī, śimbī,* and *vandhyā,* cooked in ghee, were served. Of the above, *bhaṇṭākī* is generally taken to be the same as *kaṇṭakārī* = Guj. bonyariṅgaṇī, Solanum Xanthocarpum. But kaṇṭakārī also figures separately in the above list. Hence bhaṅṭākī must be a variety of *bonyariṅgaṇī,* so also the bṛhatī. [245] *Niṣpāva* is a kind of beans, Dolichos lablab, and seems to be the same as *valla* = Guj. vāḷa. *Vandhyā* is not identified, does it refer to vandhyākarkoṭakī ? The rest of the names have already been discussed before.

Now if these ' śalāṭuvānas ' were cooked or fried in ghee then we might conclude that śalāṭus fried or cooked in ghee were similar to fala-śākas, but with or without addition of salt and spices whereas *vānas* fried in ghee were just like modern Gujarati *kācalī* or *sukavaṇī,* the same as *karcarīs* mentioned by the Bhojanakutūhala, Vol. I, pp. 114-115. This list of karcarīs includes *cirbhiṭa* (*cibhaṭa*)[246], *kāsarā-fala* (*kaḍhoncī*), *kāravallī,* bṛhatī (*ḍoralī, riṅgaṇī*), *vārtāka-fala, śamī-fala (śamīcyāśeṅgā) śvetārifala* (*himvaracyāśeṅgā*).[247] It will be seen

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[244] Caraka gives *haritavarga* in Sūtrasthāna, adhyāya 27. Cakrapāṇi in his comm. on above, writes : हरितानामप्यार्द्रकादीनां फलवदग्निपाकमन्तरेण भोजनस्य प्राक् पश्चाच्चोपयोगात् फलमनु हरितकथनं, फलेभ्यस्तु पश्चादभिधानं हरितस्यतृप्त्यनाधायकत्वात् ।—*Caraka-Samhitā* with comm. of Cakrapāṇi, ed. by J. T. Ācārya (3rd. ed., Bombay, 1941), p. 162.

Caraka includes आर्द्रक, जम्बीर, मूलक, सुरस, यवानी, आर्जक, शिग्रु, शालेय, गण्डीर, जलपिप्पली, तुम्बरु, शृङ्गवेरिका, भूस्तृण, खराह्व, धान्यक, अजगन्धा, सुमुख, सुगन्धा, गृञ्जनक, पलाण्डु and लशुन.

[245] See *Nighaṇṭu-Ādarśa,* II. p. 129.

[246] Names in brackets are Marāṭhī equivalents in the text of the Bhojanakutūhala.

[247] At the end of the list we find in the Bhojanakutūhala :—

परिशुष्कं सर्वशाकं कार्श्यविष्टम्भवातकृत् ।

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that these *karcarīs* were either cooked or fried, compare—

कासराख्यफलं शुष्कं भृष्टं वा पक्कमेव वा ।
दीपनं रोचनं तिक्तं कट्वम्लं पित्तलं विदुः ॥ कर्ढोंची ।

—Bhojanakutūhala, p. 114.

Thus it will be obvious that the *karcarīs* of Bhojanakutūhala are similar to the *ghṛtapācita-vānas* of the GPM.

Next were served the *kṛsarānnas* in the feast described by the GPM. It is also called *miśraudanam* and *khicaḍī* in the Bhojanakutūhala which describes it as follows :—

तण्डुला दालिसंयुक्ता लवणार्द्रकहिङ्गुभिः ।
युक्ताश्च सलिले सिद्धाः कृसराः कथिता बुधैः ॥
कृसरा शुक्रला बल्या गुरुपित्तकफप्रदा ।
दुर्जरा बहुविष्टम्भमलमूत्रकरी स्मृता ॥ [248] खिचड़ी, मिश्रौदनम् ।

—Bhojanakutūhala, I. p. 27.

About Miśraudana, the same text further states—'मिश्रैद्रशूकशिम्बीधान्यैरोदनो मिश्रकः मतः । ' इत्यभिधानात् । Kṛsarānna is *Khicaḍī* in Guj. and Mar., *Khicarī* in Hindi. Kṛsarā in Vaidyaka works is classified under *Kṛtānnavarga.* [249] Caraka does not mention it under Kṛtānnavarga but Suśruta does so. Bhojanakutūhala describes it in the *Odanaprakaraṇa*. The latter text also gives the following description of Kṛsarānna—

तण्डुलार्धं मुद्गभिन्नं वारिणा सह सम्पचेत् ।
युक्तं मरीचचूर्णेन तिलचूर्णं विनिक्षिपेत् ॥
इदं कृसरनामान्नमित्याख्यातं मुनीश्वरैः ॥

The Kṣemakutūhala, 6.45-47, p. 33 describes it as under :—

तन्दुलैः षष्टिसम्भूतैः कण्डितैर्न च खण्डितैः ।
अष्टभागयुतैर्मुद्गैः संयुक्तैर्द्वादशांशकैः ॥ ४५ ॥
सार्द्रा नार्द्रा सुसन्धाना सबाह्लीका वरान्विता ।
सस्नेहा कामिनीवेयं कृशरा शिशिरे हिता ॥ ४६ ॥
कृशरा दुर्जरा बल्या गुर्वी वातविनाशिनी ।
बलपुष्टिमलश्लेष्मपित्तविष्टम्भकृत्सरा ॥ ४७ ॥

The Kṣemakutūhala describes कर्चरी as under :—

क्षाराम्लकृतसंस्कारा शुष्का स्नेहविपाचिता ।
अरोचकादिरोगाणां कर्चरी कण्ठकर्तरी ॥ ४८ ॥
कर्चरी रुचिकृद्बल्या सुस्वाद्वी त्वतिलेखनी ।
उष्णा पित्तकरा प्रोक्ता कफकृत्सारका स्मृता ॥ ४९ ॥ क्षे. कु. पृ. ३३.

248 The verses occur in *Bhāvaprakāśa*, Miśraprakaraṇa, kṛtānnavarga.

249 Cf. *Suśrutasamhitā* (ed. by J. T. Acharya, Nirnayasagar Press, Bombay, 1945. Text only), I. 46.346.

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The Bṛhadyogataraṅgiṇī of Trimallabhaṭṭa, 16. 64-67, describes माषतण्डुलकृशरा and मुद्गतण्डुलकृशरा. The verses are almost the same, but Trimallabhaṭṭa writes तण्डुलैर्मौक्तिकाकारैः for तण्डुलैर्षष्टिसम्भूतैः and चतुर्थभागैर्माषस्य for अष्टभागयुतैर्मुद्गैः above.

Kṛsarānna or Kṛśarānna is a very old dish in India, known to Mahābhārata, XII. 36.33, Manusmṛti, 5.7; Buddhacarita, 2.36, etc. It is also known to Uṇādi, 3.72 and Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇini, 8.3.59, Ṣaḍvimśa Brāhmaṇa, V. 2 and Gṛhya-sūtras like Āśvalāyana Gṛh. sū., 2.4.5, etc.[250] The Gobhila Gṛh. sū. II. 7. 9-11 says that the wife should eat *kṛsarā* mixed with ghee at the time of the Sīmantonnayana ceremony. But possibly this was a dish of rice cooked with sesamum seeds and milk.[251] Thus Kṛsarā could be grouped under *Odanas*. In fact, as will be seen from the list of kṛsarānnas given by the GPM. (text, p. 17), दध्यन्नम्, माषपर्पटपिष्टान्नम्, अम्लान्नम्, घृतान्नम् etc., did not necessarily include pulses (दालिर्वैदल्s) in cooked rice, with दधि, घृत or माषपर्पटपिष्टम् etc., but might have been rice cooked with curds, ghee, māṣaparpaṭapiṣṭam etc. These have been called kṛsarānnas in the general sense of an *odana* or in the sense of rice cooked with sesamum seeds etc. Viewed in this light we can explain दध्यन्नम् = rice cooked with curds, माषपर्पटपिष्टान्नम् = rice cooked along with a paste of *parpaṭas* (dried cakes) of beans, अम्लान्नम् = rice cooked with tamarind or any such sour ingredient, घृतान्नम् = rice cooked with ghee, सिद्धार्थपिष्टान्नम् = rice cooked with paste of rapeseeds (Guj. *sarasava*) तिलपिष्टान्नम् = rice cooked paste of sesamum, and so on. Now these could also be prepared by adding घृत or तिल or माषपर्पटपिष्टम् or माषपिष्टम् in the ingredients of a modern खिचड़ी, but the addition of further माषपिष्टम् in खिचड़ी would not only be not especially tasteful but would be rather superfluous. So the sense suggested before would be more appropriate.

Viewed in this light, the माषपिष्टान्नम् of GPM. can be compared with तापहरी,[252]

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[250] For further references, see, Bothlingk and Roth, *Sanskrit Worterbuch*, I. p. 422. *Kṛsarā* is spelt also as *Kṛśarā* which is not allowed according to Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇini, 8.3.49.

[251] Cf :—कृसरापि तिलौदने ।—*Hārāvalī-Kośa* (Calcutta ed.), 169.
तुल्यौ तिलान्ने कृसरत्रिसरौ...... ।—Hemacandra's *Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi*, 398.

According to *Vedic Index*, I. p. 185, Kṛsara, a term denoting a mess of rice and sesamum often mentioned in the Sūtras, occurs in the Ṣaḍvimśa Brāhmaṇa. Ram Gopal, in *India of the Vedic Kalpasūtras*, pp. 164-65 suggests that Kṛsara was a dish of rice with sesamum seeds and milk and refers to Gobhila Gṛh. sū. II. 9.5 for his explanation. But the text of the Gobhila Gṛh. sū., though it refers to Kṛsara, does not explain its ingredients, nor the mode of preparation. Also see *Apte's Skt. Eng. Dict.* (Rev. ed. Poona, 1957), p. 600.

[252] According to the Hindi commentary of Bhāvaprakāśa in the Kaśī Sanskrit Series ed. (Benares, 1938) this is known as तातहरी in Hindi.

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a preparation included in कृतान्नवर्ग by Bhāvaprakāśa and also given by Bhojana-kutūhala in the ओदनवर्ग,[253] along with कृसरान्न. It is as follows :—

घृते हरिद्रासंयुक्ते माषजां भर्जयेद्वटीम् ॥ ११ ॥
तण्डुलांश्चापि निर्धौतान्सहैव परिभर्जयेत् ।
सिद्धयोग्यं जलं तत्र प्रक्षिप्य कुशलः पचेत् ॥ १२ ॥
लवणार्द्रकहिङ्गूनि मात्रया तत्र निक्षिपेत् ।
एषा सिद्धि समायाता प्रोक्ता तापहरी बुधैः ॥ १३ ॥

भावप्रकाश, मिश्रप्रकरण, १२.११-१३.

In the ओदनप्रकरण, the Bhojanakutūhala, (pp. 26-29) describes the *bhakta*, *māmsodana*, *rasodana*, *mudgodana*, *kṛsarā* or *miśraudana*, *tāpaharī*, and quotes from a work Kriyāsāra which describes the following six varieties of *odanas*—*paramānna* of rice, milk and molasses, *haridrānna* of rice, *mathita* and *haridrā*, *dadhyodana* of rice, curds, pepper, salt and ginger, *kṛsarānna* of rice, mudga, pepper and sessamum seeds, *guḍānna* of rice, milk and *guḍa* (molasses), and *bhūtodana* of rice, curds, *saktu*, *tila*, etc. These may be compared with the GPM. list of kṛsarānnas. The GVM. only refers to *odana* of the best small rice (*śālitaṇḍula*).

After this the *śāli-anna* was served and then were served the different sūpas (GPM., text, p. 17). According to V. S. Agrawala, Śāli is 'a kind of rice growing in winter which is replanted and called *jaḍahana*." [254] According to Vedic Index, p. 376, Śāli is a later word for rice. It is not known in the Samhitās. Vrīhi, in the sense of rice is also absent in the Ṛgveda, but is frequently alluded to in the Atharvaveda and later.[255] Caraka-Samhitā, Sūtra-sthāna, adhy. 27, Śūkadhānyavarga, gives a long list of different varieties of rice, which includes रक्तशालि, महाशालि, कलम, शकुनाहृत, सुगन्धिकर, etc.[256] A variety called षष्टिक was so called because it grew in sixty days, it was of both white and dark

[253] For *odana*, see, Agrawala, V. S., *India as known to Pāṇini*, pp. 104 f. Puri, B. N., *India in the time of Patañjali*, pp. 95-96 for *odana* and *kṛsara*.

For *Odana*, also see, *Vedic Index*, I. (London, 1912), p. 124. क्षीरौदन, दध्यौदन, तिलौदन, मुद्गौदन etc. are known to Brāhmaṇas, Upaniṣadas, etc.

[254] *India as known to Pāṇini*, pp. 102-103. Śāli is referred to in Pāṇini, V. 2. 2.

[255] For references, see *Vedic Index*, II. p. 345.

[256] Also see Suśruta, I. chp. 46 for different varieties of Śāli and Vrīhi. For some of the later varieties of rice, see *supra*, foot note 38. षष्टिक is the same as साठी referred to in *Varṇakasamuccaya* (ed. by B. J. Sandesara), I. pp. 5, 176, 185. Some of the varieties noted in the various texts published in the above volume are—कनडी, कमोद, करडीयो, कलम, कुकणी, कौमुदी, जीरा, रायभोग, वागडी, सुगंध, राजान्न, सुवर्ण etc.

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varieties. According to Caraka, षष्टिक was obtained in the following varieties—वरक, उद्दलक, चीन, शारद, उज्ज्वल, दर्दुर, गन्धक and कुरुविन्द. Caraka also refers to vrīhi as a special variety. Suśruta (Sūtra-sthāna, 46.7) mentions Mahāśāli, which was perhaps a kindred variety of Mahāvrīhi referred to in Pāṇini, VI. 2.38. Patañjali praises the śāli rice grown in Magadha (Mahābhāṣya, I. 19). Hiuen-tsang referred to an unusual sort of rice grown in Magadha, the grains of which were large, fragrant and of exquisite taste.[257]

The GPM then refers to *sūpas*. The GVM. (text, p. 27) also refers to *śuddha-āḍhakī-sūpa*. *Sūpas* or soups (like modern Guj. દાળ) are well-known from ancient times.[258] Sūpa is prepared by boiling pulses like *mudga*, *māṣa*, etc. Incidentally it may be noted that *Yūṣa* (broth) occurring in the description of horse-sacrifice in RV. YV. etc., denotes broth made from flesh of animals, and was used as food.[259] But Suśruta, sūtrasthāna, 46. 367-381 seems to refer to vegetarian *Yūṣas* when it refers to mudgayūṣa, paṭola-yūṣa, nimba-yūṣa, mūlaka-yūṣa, kulattha-yūṣa etc.[260] Preparations of different sūpas are described in Pākadarpaṇa ascribed to Nala.[261] The Kṣemakutūhala, utsava 6, vv. 24 ff. (p. 31) also describes the different sūpas. For preparations of various vegetarian Yūṣas, see, Nighaṇṭa-Ratnākara, I. pp. 21 ff., and for different *sūpas*, Bhojanakutūhala, I. pp. 31-33 ; and Bṛhadyogataraṅgiṇī, 16. 44-59, pp. 68 ff.

Next were served the *pāyasa-annas*. These included different pāyasānnas prepared with various wheat-preparations, pāyasānna of rice and pāyasānna of priyaṅgu. Thus wheat, rice or priyaṅgu were boiled in milk and served. Pāyasānna is like modern *Kṣīra* (*Khīra*) or like the *Dūdhapāka*. The Bhojanakutūhala, I. p. 30 describes *Kṣīrī* and *Nārikerakṣīrī*. Milk of cows, buffaloes, goats, camels etc. was used in diet and for medicinal purposes. Properties of all these are described in various Vaidyaka works. The Bhojanakutūhala, I. pp. 125-135 has a chapter called *kṣīra-prakaraṇa*. The *Nighaṇṭa*-Ratnākara, I. p. 26 refers to *kṣīrikā*, *pāvasa*, *nārikela-kṣīrī* and *godhūma-kṣīrikā*. The GVM. (text, p. 26) says that seven types of *pāyasānnas* prepared from different preparations of wheat were served, as also *pāyasānnas* of only *māṣa*,

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257 Beal, *Siyuki*, II. 82. Also see, *India as known to Pāṇini*, p. 103.

258 Sūpa is also used in the sense of a sauce or condiment, see, *Apte's Skt. Eng. Dict.* (Rev. ed.), p. 1699.

259 *Vedic Index*, II. p. 195.

260 *Suśruta-Samhitā* (text only, Nirṇayasāgar Press ed., Bombay, 1945), pp. 245-246. See also, *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya*, I. 6. 31 ff. and comm. of Aruṇadatta.

261 *Pāka-Darpaṇa*, by Mahārāja Nala, (Kāshī Sanskrit Series, No. 1, Benares, 1915), pp. 11-12.

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or *taṇḍula* or *priyaṅgu* were served. *Pāyasa* is an ancient preparation known to Gṛhyasūtras.[262]

Trimallabhaṭṭa describes preparation of *pāyasa* in the following manner—

अर्धावशिष्टे क्वथनाद् दुग्धेऽष्टांशान्सुतण्डुलान् ॥ ६८ ॥
पचेन्नातिद्रवघनं परमान्नमिदं स्मृतम् ।
पायसं दुर्जरं बल्यं धातुपुष्टिप्रदं गुरु ॥ ६९ ॥
विष्टम्भि पित्तरक्ताग्निमारुतान्निर्हरेत्क्रमात् ।

—Bṛhadyogataraṅgiṇī, 16. 68-70, p. 71.[263]

Incidentally one may note here several other dishes prepared from or with milk described in later texts. The Bṛhadyogataraṅgiṇī describes स्नेहदुग्धसक्तुक, क्षीरवटी, क्षीरमोदक, स्वादुलड्डुक, दुग्धमण्डक, दुग्धकरञ्जिका and क्षीरशाकम्.[264]

The Kṣemakutūhala, 12.5-6 describes a नारङ्गक्षीरिणी, and in verses 7-10 it describes a नालिकेरक्षीरिका. The same text, in utsava 10, verses 56-72, pp. 88-89, describes preparations of निस्नेहसक्तुः, क्षीरसक्तुः, क्षीरवटकवटी, क्षीरलड्डुकः, स्वादुलड्डुकः, रोचकदुग्ध-गोलकः, क्षीरकासारः, क्षीरतिलावनम्, कृशरागर्भकम्, क्षीरदलम्, क्षीरशाकम्, and नृपयोग्यक्षीरशाकम्. A thick variety of क्षीर called जाडरि is referred to in the Padmāvata of Jāyasī.[265]

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262 *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya sūtra*, 2.3.4; *Pāraskara Gṛh. sū.*, 2.15; 3.19. *Pāyasa* and *Kṣīra* were sometimes taken loosely to denote the same dish, cf. पायसं परमान्नं च क्षैरेयी । *Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi*, 406, and Hemacandra's comm. on it. क्षीरपाकमोदनम् is mentioned in the *RV*. VIII. 77.10.

263 Some interesting *pāyasa* preparations are given in *Nalapākadarpaṇa*, pp. 45 ff. The *Kṣemakutūhala*, describes a चन्द्रप्रभा-क्षीरिका as under—

शुभेऽर्धक्वथिते दुग्धे घृताक्तान्तण्डुलान्न्यसेत् ।
संसिद्धा मधुसंसिक्ता क्षीरी चन्द्रप्रभा भवेत् ॥ १ ॥
कुङ्कुमं च विनिक्षिप्य पचेत्पीतत्वहेतुना ।
चंद्रप्रभाकृतिः क्षीरी रक्तपित्तविनाशिनी ॥
विष्टम्भजननी बल्या धातुपुष्टिप्रदायिनी ।

Kṣemakutūhala, 12.1-3, p. 100

and राजपायसम्—

निर्नीरपाचितपयः प्रहिताष्टभागं
श्यामाकतण्डुलनवं निभृतान्तरोष्मा ।
तत्पायसं सरसमावसथं सुधायाः
को लेढि भूपतिमृते घृतखण्डसाकम् ॥ ३ ॥
पायसं दुर्जरं बल्यं धातुपुष्टिविवर्धनं ।
विष्टम्भजननं हन्ति रक्तपित्ताग्निमारुतान् ॥ ४ ॥

—*Kṣemakutūhala*, 12.3-4, p. 100.

264 *Bṛhadyogataraṅgiṇī*, 16.82-95.

265 *Padmāvata*, ed. with notes by V. S. Agrawala, 284.7, pp. 270-71.

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The same text also refers to मोरंडा which are sweet-balls prepared with milk and curds.[266]

In the GPM.—feast were served two *parpaṭikās* fried in the ghee. The *parpaṭikās* are crisp cakes prepared from rice, *mudga* or *māṣa* pastes and then sun-dried. The pastes are generally prepared by adding water to the flour, and oil is used in preparing cakes from pastes. Known as *pāpaḍa* or *pāpaḍī* in Guj. Mar. and Hindi, the *parpaṭas* are at least as old as Caraka, they are referred to in Naiṣadhīyacaritam of Śrīharṣa[267]. The Bhāvaprakāśa, 12.44-47 describes the preparations of *parpaṭas* as follows :—

माषाणां दालयस्तोये स्थापितास्त्यक्तकञ्चुकाः ।
आतपे शोषिता यन्त्रे पिष्टास्ता धूमसी स्मृता ॥ ३७ ॥
धूमसीरचिता हिङ्गुहरिद्रालवणैर्युताः ।
जीरकस्वर्जिकाभ्यां च तनूकृत्य च वेल्लिताः ॥ ४४ ॥
पर्पटास्ते सदाङ्गारभृष्टाः परमरोचकाः ।
दीपनाः पाचना रूक्षा गुरवः किञ्चिदीरिताः ॥ ४५ ॥
मौद्गाश्च तद्गुणाः प्रोक्ता विशेषाल्लघवो हिताः ॥ ४६ ॥
चणकस्य गुणैर्युक्ताः पर्पटाश्चणकोद्भवाः ।
स्नेहभृष्टास्तु ते सर्वे भवेयुर्मध्यमा गुणैः ॥ ४७ ॥

The Kṣemakutūhala, 6. 39-40, p. 32 refers to preparation of parpaṭas of *mudga* and says that they were either baked on fire or fried in oil. Trimallabhaṭṭa refers to *parpaṭas* of *mudga*, *māṣa* and *taṇḍula*.[268]

After parpaṭas were served the various *śākinī-rasas* followed by *kvathikās*. Probably these *śākinī-rasas* were like the *mūlaka-yūṣa* etc. described by Suśruta, referred to above. Vaidyaka works seem to take *sūpa*, *yūṣa* and *rasa* all differently.[269] *Sūpa* seems to have been like modern *dāla* (of various pulses)

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[266] Acc. to V. S. Agrawala, see, *ibid.*, pp. 270-71.

[267] *Caraka-Saṃhitā*, I. 27.271. Also *cf.* तिलतिलकितपर्पटाभमिन्दुम् । *Naiṣadhīya-caritam*, 22.149. Nārāyaṇa Bedarkar commenting writes :

तिलैः संजाततिलकः तिलैरेव तिलकवान्कृतो वा यः पर्पटः ।
शालितण्डुलपिष्टरचितश्चिपिटस्तिलसंकुलीसंज्ञ उपदंशविशेषः ॥

N.C. (Nirnaya Sagar Press, Bombay, 4th ed., 1912), p. 526. The शालिपर्पटs are at present known as सालेवडा or पापड़ी in Guj. Also see, *Varṇakasamuccaya*, Vol. II. p. 18. For preparations of पर्पटs, मुद्गपर्पटs and तण्डुलपर्पटs see *Bṛhadyogataraṅgiṇī*, 16.60-63, pp. 70-71.

[268] *Bṛhadyogataraṅgiṇī*, 16. 60-63, pp. 70-71.

[269] cf. Comm. on Aruṇadatta on Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya (Nirnayasagar Press, Bombay, 1891), 6. 31., p. 46—विद्याद्यूषे रसे सूपे शाके चैवोत्तरोत्तरम् । गौरवं तनुसान्द्राम्लस्वादुष्वेषु पृथक्तया ।

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which is thick, *yūṣa* like broth (something like modern Guj. Osāmaṇa) and *rasa* meaning juice or extract.[270]

Kvathikā is a stew or decoction, various kvāthas of medicinal use are prescribed in Vaidyaka texts. Here *kvathikā* is modern Guj. Mar. and Hindi *kaḍhī*, usually gram-flour boiled in water with curds or butter-milk and salt, spices etc. added. The Manusmṛti, 6. 20 says—पक्षान्तयोर्वाऽप्यश्नीयाद्यवागूं क्वथितां सकृत् । *Kvathikās* were prepared not only from gram-flour but possibly from flours of other pulses or grains, and various condiments and spices added. The Nighaṇṭa-Ratnākara, I. p. 24, calls it *Kathikā* and describes three varieties. The Bhāva-prakāśa, 6. 12. 69-70, calls it *kvathitā* and describes the preparation. Suṣeṇa in his Annapānavidhi refers to two other varieties of kvathikā.[271] The GVM. (text, p. 26) refers to *kvāthi* flavoured with *vyañjanas*.

It may be remembered that Kvāthi may also refer to a preparation of salt, jīraka, dried ginger and tamarind dissolved in water, and boiled. Some more spices can be added according to taste. Kvathikās need not necessarily contain gram-flour as one of the ingredients as in modern usual Gujarati *kaḍhī*. In the GPM. we find that *kvathikās* with *takra*, *āmalakī*, *tintiṇī*, *dāḍimarasa*, or *maricasāra* as a principal ingredient were served. Then the butter-milk prepared from buffalo-milk was served. Then were served various sweet-meats cooked and prepared with ghee (ghṛtapācitapakvānnāni).

To this a question is asked : 'What were the *bhakṣyās* served ?' In reply the Sannyāsin refers to different *vaṭakās*, *maṇḍakās*, *laḍukās*, *śaṣkulīs*, *modakas*, *apūpas*, *piṣṭakās* and *atirasas*. It would thus be obvious that the different sweets cooked in ghee and other cooked preparations like *vaṭakas*, *apūpas*, *modakas* etc. all came under the classification of *bhakṣya*.

In the GVM. the order of reference or service is different. After *lavaṇa-śākās* were served in order, the *māṣavaṭakas*, the different *vaṭikās*, then the *par-paṭas*, the *dadhivaṭakas*, etc., the *methīkūṭa*, the *odana* of rice, the soup of *āḍhakī* followed by different kinds of *bhakṣyas*. Some of the noteworthy varieties of these *bhakṣyas* included *pūrṇagarbhas*, *maṇḍakas*, *laḍukas*, *ghṛtapācitamāṣa-vaṭakas*, *anārisās*, *śaṣkulīdadhikās*, *pūrikās*, *apūpas*, etc. These were followed by another type of food known as *lehyās*. These were further followed by *parpa-*

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270 But acc. to Hemacandra, सूपः स्यात्प्रहितं सूदः । *Abhi. Cin.* 397 and अथ यूर्यूषो रसः । *Abhi. Cin.* (ed. by Vijayakastura sūri, Ahmedabad, 1956), 404. Hemcandra in his own comm. (Bhavnagara ed. of Abhi. Cin., vol. I., p. 167) quotes वैजयन्ती —"यूषोऽस्त्री यूः पुमान् रसे ।" and writes रस्यते रसो मुद्गादीनाम् । Thus यूष and रस sometimes denoted similar preparations.

271 Suṣeṇa's *Āyurveda Mahodadhi—Annapānavidhi* (Tanjore Sarasvati Mahal Series, Tanjore, 1950), pp. 84-85.

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ṭikās and sugar-coated *pūrikās, laḍukās* and *peṭakās*. Really speaking these items mentioned after *lehyās* should precede them. I would therefore suggest an emendation that the expression जिह्वालेह्याः परिविविषे (text p. 25) should rather be read after अत ऊर्ध्वं नानाविधानि भक्ष्याणि परिविविषे, on text p. 26.

Now what are *bhakṣyas*? A controversy about what is *bhakṣya* and what is *bhojya* continues. Earlier texts like the Caraka-Saṃhitā, the Suśruta-Saṃhitā, or the Aṣṭāṅgasaṁgraha, etc., do not describe dishes separately under *bhakṣya, bhojya, coṣya, lehya*, etc. They refer to *śāka-varga, fala-varga dhānya-varga* etc., and to *kṛtānnavarga* (cooked foods). *Bhaktam* is often used in the sense of *annam* (food) as in भिस्सा स्त्री भक्तमन्धोऽन्नमोदनोऽस्त्री स दीदिविः । Amarakośa, 2. 9. 48 (Nirnayasagara ed., 1944, with Rāmāśramī comm.),[272] and *Bhojanam* is explained as....जग्धिस्तु भोजनम् । जेमनं लेह आहारो निघसो न्याद इत्यपि ।[273].

Suśruta however gives a *bkakṣyavarga* (Suśruta., I. 46. 392ff) after *kṛtānna-varga*. In Suśruta I. 46. 493 we find पेयलेह्याद्यभक्ष्याणां गुरु विद्याद्यथोत्तरम् । which the commentary of Dalhaṇa explains as पेयं पानीयादि, लेह्यं मध्वादि, अद्यं भक्तादि, भक्ष्यं मोदकादि ।[274] Here possibly अद्यं or भक्तादि refers *Bhojyas*. In another context, Suśruta writes—आदौ फलानि भुञ्जीत दाडिमादीनि बुद्धिमान् । ततः पेयांस्ततो भोज्यान्भक्ष्यांश्चित्रांस्ततः परम् । Here Ḍalhaṇa says भोज्यं रक्तशाल्यादि ।[275]. Thus it seems that भोज्य referred to principal ancient Indian dish like भक्तम् or boiled rice. Bhāvaprakāśa, 6. 12. 5-6, uses *bhaktam* in the same sense of *bhāta* (Guj. Mar. Hindi) or cooked rice. This sense of cooked rice for *bhakta* is seen in Pāṇini, sūtra IV. 4. 100 which prescribes a suffix to denote a thing that is good for *bhakta* (Bhaktāṇ-ṇah). Kāśikā's examples *bhāktah śālih* and *bhāktastaṇḍulah* show that bhakta here stands for boiled rice.

V. S. Agrawala has shown that in the Jātakas (*yāgubhattādīni, Takkula Jāt.* IV. 43) and in the Arthaśāstra II. 24, the word primarily denoted *anna* as in Pāṇini, VI. 2. 71.[276]

Pāṇini VII. 3.69 shows that *bhojya* is irregularly derived in the sense of *bhakṣya*. A controversy arose on this point which V. S. Agrawala has summarised as follows[277] :—

Kātyāyana raises an objection that *bhakṣya* is not to be taken as a synonym of *bhojya*, since *bhojya* includes all articles of diet, both solid and liquid, while *bhakṣya* denotes only solid food.....Patañjali disagrees with

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272 Hemacandra also writes भक्तमन्ने च तत्परे । *Abhi. Cin.* 395.

273 Amara., 2. 9. 55.

274 *Śuśruta Saṃhitā* with comm. of Dalhaṇa, (Nirṇayasāgar ed., Bombay, 1915), p. 212.

275 *Ibid.*, I. 46. 461, p. 210.

276 *India As Known To Pāṇini*, p. 99.

277 *India As Known To Pāṇini*, pp. 100 f.

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Kātyāyana and defends Pāṇini by saying that in such older examples as *ab-bhakṣa* and *vāyu-bhakṣa* even non-solid substances occur as the object of *bhakṣaṇa*, and hence Pāṇini's idiom in equating *bhojya* with *bhakṣya* is unobjectionable. All subsequent commentators have accepted Patañjali's liberal interpretation of *bhakṣya* in this sūtra, namely, that it stands for both solid and liquid food. Dr. Goldstücker, however, raised his voice of dissent against Patañjali and maintained that 'in Pāṇini's time, which preceded the classical epoch, *bhakṣya* must have been used as convertible term for *bhojya*; while at Kātyāyana's period his rendering became incorrect, and the the sūtra needed correction' (Pāṇini and his place in Sanskrit Lit., p. 97). Dr. Goldstücker's statement, however, does not hold good for the whole of the Aṣṭādhyāyī, since in Pāṇini's own sūtra II. 1.35 (bhakṣyeṇa miśrīkaraṇam) as read with IV. 2.16 (Samskṛtam bhakṣāh), *bhakṣya* denotes solid food only and not liquids, as is evident from the illustration in the *Bhāṣya* (I. 387) which is accepted by all subsequent commentators (cf. Kāsikā, IV. 1.16—*khara-viśadam abhyavahāryam bhakṣyam ityuchyate*; also II. 1.35). Here *bhakṣya* cannot be said to be strictly synonymous with *bhojya*, if, as rightly argued, *bhojya* included both liquid and solid diets.

Agrawala further writes—"The correct view, we submit, is that *bhakṣya* has a two-fold sense in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, a more general sense in sūtra VII. 3.69 and a restricted one elsewhere. As for the contention of Dr. Goldstücker (*ibid.*, p. 97) that in the classical language *bhakṣya* is different from *bhojya* and applies to solid food only, we submit the following three examples from Kauṭilya, where exactly as in Pāṇini both meanings prevail side by side;

(a) Māmsa-surā-bhakṣya-bhojana (Arthaśāstra text, p. 214), *i.e.* eating of meat and other solid foods and drinking of liquors;

(b) Sūdo bhakṣakāro vā bhakṣa-bhojanam yāceta (*ibid*; p. 239), *i.e.*, the cook or one who prepares food may ask for some *bhakṣa* and *bhojana*.

(c) *Bhakṣyeṣu smarati* (p. 252), *i.e.*, the king at meals remembers (his courtier).

In the above examples (a) and (b) distinguish between the meanings of *bhakṣya* and *bhojya* while (c) uses *bhakṣya* as synonymous with food in general. It is this latter sense that holds good in Pāṇini's sūtra VII. 3.69". [278]

Agrawala further writes, "For the rest of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* Pāṇini has distinguished *bhakṣya* (II. 1. 35) from *anna* (food in general, II. 1. 34), and it is, therefore, right to take it as denoting *khādya* (eatable or solid) articles only. Pāṇini's own examples of *bhakṣyas* as given in sūtra VI. 2. 128 are (1) *palala*

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278 *India As Known To Pāṇini*, p. 101.

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(meat), (2) *sūpa* (pulses) and (3) *śāka* (vegetables), which are compounded with words denoting relish-giving articles of diet like *ghṛta, guḍa*, etc. "[279]

We might add that while *bhojana* has the sense of a full dinner, complete meal, satisfying hunger, *bhakṣaṇa* has the general sense of eating, not necessarily fully satisfying hunger. Hence the feeding of Brāhmins in śrāddha etc., would be enjoined with the words '*brāhmaṇān bhojayet*' and not '*brāhmaṇān bhakṣayet.*' So it may be suggested that while "bhojya" could be used for "bhakṣya" the converse was not always possible.[280] Further investigation into the problem is necessary. None of the earlier Vaidyaka writers have given a list of bhojyas though they believe in the classification of all articles of food into four groups, namely, *bhakṣya, bhojya* or *adya, peya* and *lehya*. The fifth group, *viz., coṣya* seems to be a later addition.

Śuśruta has treated *bhakṣya-varga* separately from *kṛtānnavarga*. In the former class Śuśruta includes the following—क्षीरकृतभक्ष्यs, (including घृतपूरs), गुडकृतभक्ष्यs, मधुमस्तक (मधुशीर्षक), संयाव (Hindi, Guj. Mar. हलवा or हलुवा), पूप (fried cakes, *e.g.*, मालपुवा, मालपुडा), मोदक, सट्टक (like श्रीखण्ड), विष्यन्दन, सामित-पदार्थs, (फेनक etc.), पूर्णांs, पाललs शष्कुलीs (cakes), पैष्टिक-पदार्थs, वैदल preparations, कुचिकाविकृतभक्ष्यs (*e.g.* रसगुल्ले, गुलाब जामुन etc.), विरूढधान्यकृतभक्ष्यs (both घृतपाचित and तैलपाचित), फल-मांस-इक्षु-माषादि-उपस्कृतभक्ष्यs, किलाटकृतभक्ष्यs, कुल्माषs, वाट्यs, धानs, and उलुम्बs, सक्तुs, लाजाs, पृथुकाs, and ताण्डुलं पिष्टम्.[281]

Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya, II. 3. 66 says भोज्यधातूनां परिवृत्तिस्तु चक्रवत्। Commenting on the word भोज्य here, Aruṇadatta writers—भोज्यशब्देनेह यस्य धातोर्य आहारस्तस्य सर्वस्य ग्रहणम्। Bhojya is thus a compatible thing, an edible which is the usual or principle dish of a people, possibly the staple food. In this sense possibly *bhojya* was equated with *bhaktam* or cooked rich which was and still is the staple dish of some people.

Aṣṭāṅgasamgraha,[282] sūtrasthāna, 10. 44. 46, says—दक्षिणपार्श्वे भक्ष्यं स्थापयेत्। सव्ये पेयं लेह्यं मुखोद्घर्षणापिण्डीं च। मध्ये भोज्यमिति। This suggests that by *bhojyam* cooked rice is possibly intended, for even to day, in many places in India, rice is served in the centre of the dish.

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[279] Agrawala, *Ibid.*, p. 101.

[280] I am thankful to my colleague Shri J. S. Pade-Shastri for this suggestion.

[281] For an explanation of these items with identifications of some along with quotations from sanskrit texts, see, *Śuśruta-Samihitā*, with Hindi Comm. of Kavirāja Dr. Ambikādatta Shastri (Kashi Sanskrit series, vol. 156, Banaras, (1954), vol. I. pp. 214-216.

[282] *Aṣṭāṅgasamgraha*, ed. by Ramcandra Shastri Kinjavadekar, (Chitraśālā Press, Poona, 1940), *Sūtrasthāna*, p. 118.

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This interpretation of *bhojya* is further corroborated by the comm. on Suśruta, I. 46, 461, in which Dalhaṇa explains *bhojyam* = *raktaśāli-ādi*.

Pāṇini, Dhātupāṭha, 1568, भुज-पालनाभ्यवहारयोः shows that √bhuj had the general sense of *abhyavahāra* or eating and, therefore, *bhojya* can be anything that is eatable. Thus *bhojya* included both solids and liquids. Now, Pāṇini, Dhātupāṭha, no. 959, भक्ष-अदने (1 conj.), and no. 1667, भक्ष-अदने (10 conj.) shows that possibly Pāṇini had in his mind some finer distinction between *abhyavahāra* and *adana*. *Abhyavahāra* possibly had the sense of *bhojana*.

A study of all the references to Pāṇini given by V. S. Agrawala, and referred to above, shows, however, that in none of these sūtras, Pāṇini has unequivocally taken *bhakṣyam* in the sense of solid food only and in the sūtra VI. 2. 128 (also referred to by Agrawala) actually Pāṇini includes *sūpa* in *bhakṣya* but sūpa is not solid. Agrawala's remarks, therefore, that " *bhakṣya* has a two-fold sense in the Aṣṭādhyāyī, and a more general sense in sūtra VII. 3. 69, and a restricted sense elsewhere " have to be reconsidered. We hope students of grammar will throw more light on the subject. It may however be noted that at least Kātyāyana as interpreted by Patañjali took *bhakṣya* in the sense of *khara-viṣada* or solid food only.

It might have been an accident that the example of *guḍa-samsṛṣṭa-dhānā* given by Patañjali, on Pāṇini, II. 1.35, is an example of solid food, but it is well known that liquid food is capable of *miśrīkaraṇa*. Patañjali has nowhere suggested that *bhakṣyam* according to him meant solid food only. Nor does he suggest anywhere that Pāṇini at any place took bhaṣkyam in the sense of solid food. It is possibly the later commentators of Pāṇini who have also taken *bhakṣyam* in the sense of *khara-viṣadam* but Pāṇini himself does not seem to have conveyed the sense clearly anywhere.

The *bhakṣyas* of GVM. include in general *ghṛtapācitapakvānnāni*, *i.e.* all the sweet-meats and other preparations prepared and cooked in ghee. *Pakvānna* today is generally used in the sense of sweet preparations, cf. *pakavān* in Gujarati. The Bhāvaprakāśa, Miśraprakaraṇa, 12.108-142 has a special section of *pachyānna* which is the same as *pakvānna*.[283] The text describes preparations of मण्ठ (Hindi, मठरी, माड़,), सम्पाव (Hindi, गुजिया), कर्पूरनालिका, फेनिका, (Hindi, Guj., फेनी, फेणी), शष्कुली (Hindi, खस्तापूरी, Guj., सुंवाळी), सेविकामोदकाः (Hindi, सेव के लड्डु, Guj., सेवना लाडु), मुक्तामोदक or मुद्गमोदक (Hindi, Guj., मोतीचूर, मुंग के लड्डु), वेसनमोदकाः (मोतीचूर, बूंदी के

[283] *Bhāvaprakāśa* (Kāśi Sanskrit Series no. 130, referred above), pp. 567ff., for Hindi equivalents of some of these preparations. Some editions of the text do not call this a *pacyānna-varga*.

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लड्डू), दुग्धकूपिका, and कुण्डलिनी (जलेबी).[281] Some editions of the text do not give a separate sub-division and seem to include these in the general *kṛtānnavarga*.

The Bhojanakutūhala, Chp. 5 (Siddhānnaprakaraṇa) has a sub-chapter entitled *bhakṣyaprakaraṇa*, on pp. 33ff., in which first the preparation of समिता: (Hindi, मैदा) or fine powder of wheat, watered and dried, is explained, then the kneading and preparation of paste, called लोप्त्री is described. A broad cake made of the above and cooked slowly on an inverted clay pot is called मण्डक (Hindi, मांड). Maṇḍaka is referred to in the Padmāvata of Jyāyasī.[285] The Mānasollāsa describes another preparation of Maṇḍaka or Māṇḍā.[286] Maṇḍa or Māṇḍā is an ancient preparation.[287] In Gujarat *Khāṇḍa-Māṇḍā* (Sugar and Māṇḍā) is a common menu in caste-dinners to this date. In the *Varṇakasamuccaya*, the different varieties of Māṇḍā are given. They are आकाश or आकासीआ मां०, आछा-मां०, करकरा, कुरुकुरा, खांड-मां० पडसूदीना मां०, गहुंना मां०, पत्रवेटीया, पूरण-मां०, मिरिचंना-मां०, मांडी.[288]

The other preparations described as *bhakṣyas* by the Bhojanakutūhala include, पोळिका, लप्सिका (लापसी), रोटिका (रोटी), अङ्गारपोळिका and अङ्गारकर्कटी, यवरोटिका, माषरोटी, झर्झरिका, चणकरोटी, वेढणिका (वेढमिका, वेढमी), वडोरी (वेडारी), पर्पट (पापड), शुष्कवटक, तक्रवटक, काञ्जिवटक, अम्लिकाराजीवटक, माषवटी, कूष्माण्डवटक, निम्बपुष्पवटक, वज्रवल्लीवटक (काण्डवेलीवडे), सूरणवटक, आमलकवटक, कदलीपुष्पवटक, दधिवटक, मुद्गचणकादिवटी, अलीकमच्छ, क्वथिका, मुद्गार्द्रवटक, चुचुकवटी, मण्ड (माठ), शङ्करपाल (Guj. and Hindi, सक्करपारा), संयाव (करञ्जी), कर्पूरनालिका (साखररोटी in Mar.), फेनिका, शकट: (साटा), गोधूमफेणी, माषफेणी, पूरिका (पूरी), चण्डारिका (इडली), घृतपूर (वेऊर, वेवर), दोपका (धिरडीं in Mar.), शष्कुली (कचोरी), पिष्टापूपा (Mar. घारवे), मुद्गमोदक (मोतीलाडु, मोतीचूर), रत्नमोदक (made of माष), कुण्डलिनी (जलेबी), कूरवटा: (कूरंडी ; करकरवड़ी in Guj.), शाण्डाकी (सांण्डयी), समितामोदका (पलसुदीपा in Guj. according to author of Bhojanakutūhala), द्रावक (a variety of मोदक, known to Gujarat, द्रावालाडु, according to the author of the text), चुर्मालाडु (still known to Gujarat, Rājasthan etc.), पूर्णगर्भा पोळिका (पूर्णपोली), सुधापर:, अनरसा (अनारसे a favourite dish of Mahārāṣṭra), घारिका (घार्या in Mar., घारी in Guj.), चक्रागि (चकल्या in Mar , चकली in Guj.), and अतिरस (अपाल).

It is interesting to note that most of the above preparations are known to Bhāvaprakāśa[289] where they are included in the kṛtānnavarga. The Bhojana-

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281 P. K. Gode has contributed an interesting paper about the antiquity of Jalebi in India, *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VI. pp. 169-181. *Jalebi* is from Arabic *Jhallābiyā*.

285 *Padmāvata*, ed: by V. S. Agrawal, 284.2. pp. 270-71.

286 *Mānasollāsa*, (Vol. II), Adh. 13, vv. 1375-80.

287 Cf. for example, *Matsya Purāṇa*, 63.19. *Naiṣadhīyacarita*, XVI. 107. Also see, Jani, A. N., *A Critical Study of Śrīharṣa's Naiṣadhīyacharitam*, p. 218, Monier-Williams, Dict., *Op. cit.*, p. 775.

288 *Varṇaka-samuccaya*, I. p. 5.

289 *Bhāvaprakāśa*, *op. cit.*, pp. 562-568.

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kutūhala has taken almost all the descriptions from the above text, most of the verses are common to both the texts. It is thus quite clear that items referred to in the kṛtānnavarga were sometimes regarded as bhakṣyas.

The Madanapālanighaṇṭu, composed in c. 14th century A.D., refers to घृतपूर, संयाव, मधुशीर्षिका, अपूप (Guj. मालपूआ or मालपूडा), दधिपूप, विस्यन्द, लप्सिका, फेनिका, मोदक, लड्डुक, वटिका and वटक, सोमालिका (सुहाली), कुण्डालिका (जलेबी), कुल्माष (Guj. कंसार ?) etc. in the Dhānyakṛtānna-varga.

The Varṇakasamuccaya refers to several preparations like, खाजां, लाडु, खलखंड, भलखंड, मरकी, सुंहाली, दहीथरां, घारी, साकुली, माडा, पानोली, चुरिमउ, वेढमी, लपनश्री, खाजली, दोठा, घारां, घेवर, घारडी, घूघरी, गुलपापडी, गुंदपाक, कोहलापाक, नालियेरपाक, इन्द्ररसा, सेवदळ, हेसमी, जलेबी, फीणी, खरंगा etc.; for a discussion on all such items, see *Varṇakasamuccaya*, II. pp. 9-19.

The Nighaṇṭaratnākara, I, pp. 17ff refers to several preparations, some additional sweet preparations being described on pp. 31ff, including मोहनभोग, चंद्रहासा, different varieties of घृतपूर, शालिपूप (अनारसे), गुडोरी (गुळपोळी in Mar.), different varieties of लड्डुक and पूरिका, घावन (आयते in Mar.), चिरोटे, शर्कराभक्त (साखरभात, केसरीभात in Mar.) etc.

The Kṣemakutūhala, chp. 10, pp. 82 ff, is devoted to *pakvānnas* which include फेनिका, varieties of लड्डुक and मोदक, क्षीर preparations, मण्डक, पोलिका, अङ्गारकर्करी, वेढिका or वेटिका, varieties of लप्सिका (such as शुद्ध, भैमी, चन्द्रहासा and ललिता), and of घेवर, मधुशीर्षक, different types of वटिका and पूरिका, घारापूपक, कुण्डलिनी, वर्बरम् (?), खण्डखर्जुर (Guj. खजुरी), अमृतरसा, कर्पूरनालिका, अमृतनालिका, कसार (Guj. कंसार), and सेविका.

The above texts describe several varieties of वटक. The GPM. refers to माषवटक, मुद्गवटक and चणकवटक and includes them amongst *bhakṣyas*. The GVM. (text p. 25) refers to शुद्धमाषवटक, दधिवटक and द्राक्षवटक.[290] It also refers to वटिका (Guj. Hindi वडी) called मेथीवटिका, तिलवटिका, कूष्माण्डवटिका, अम्बष्ठवटिका, कूष्माण्डबीजवटिका and चीरवटिका. The preparation of चीरवटिका could not be traced. The GVM. includes this last variety amongst *bhakṣyas* along with घृतपाचितसुपक्वमाषवटकs and वटपूरिका. The वटपूरिका must have been cakes of वटक.

The Varṇakasamuccaya, I. p. 6 refers to a number of varieties of वटक which, according to a verse quoted on p. 174, were described as under—

हिंग्वाजीरैर्मरीचैर्लवणदलयुतैरार्द्रकैः पूर्णगर्भः
स्निग्धः स्वादु (दुः)सुवृत्तः परिमलबहुलः कोमलः कुङ्कुमाभः ।
लग्नो दन्तान्तराले मरुमरुमरुतस्पष्टविस्पष्टशब्दै—
र्धन्यानां कः कपोले प्रविशति वटकः प्रेयसीप्रेमदत्तः ॥

The above verse is known with some variants to Suṣeṇa's Annapānavidhi, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

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290 For preparations of वटकs and वटीs, see *Kṣemakutūhala*, 9. pp. 77-81, *Bhojanakutūhala*, I. pp. 37-40.

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The Varṇakasamuccaya, p. 6, refers to several varieties of वटिका (called वडी in Gujarati) such as मुंग वडी, उडद वडी, छमका वडी, पलेहवडी and सउंतलीवडी.

The GVM. also refers to a special variety of वटिका described as शुद्धचणकदालिनिर्मितदधिसर्पिषोपस्कृतलाटुवटिका. After this it refers to a special preparation called मेथीकूट. This मेथीकूट is not included in *bhakṣyas* by the GVM. It is really a flavouring powder. As its name would suggest it might have been prepared from मेथी or मेथिका, Fenugreek, Trigonella Foenum Graecum. This is a preparation known to Karṇāṭaka, Konkaṇa and Mahārāṣṭra. In Mahārāṣṭra it is known as मेतकूट, but now-a-days, the people of Mahārāṣṭra often do not include methikā in it.

In Karṇāṭaka, *Methī-kūṭa* is prepared by frying, with a little oil, pulses of gram (half-a-seer) separately. Then *dhānyakam* (*dhānā*, coriander seed), *jīrakam* (cumin seed) and *methī* are fried separately till they are light red or golden red. Then these are mixed together and powdered. A little *hiṅgu* (asafoetida) is added. This powder is stored and used with rice with addition of necessary quantity of salt and ghee. Some people add a few drops of fresh lemon-juice while eating cooked rice with ghee, salt and *methī-kūṭa.*[291]

People of Māhārāṣṭra, as stated above, do not add methikā. The usual formula for preparation of this powder is as under:—2 lbs. of Gram (*caṇaka*), ¼ lb. Wheat, ¼ lb. Rice, ⅛ lb. of Black Gram (*māṣa*, *uḍada*). These are first roasted a little and then powdered. Then necessary quantity of powder of salt, chillies or black pepper, asafoetida, cloves, cardamoms, dry ginger, cumin seeds and coriander seeds are added. The powder is then stored for future use either with rice, as in Karṇāṭaka, or to be served separately in the dish, in which latter case, the powder is often mixed with chopped onions and curds.[292]

The GVM. has referred to *vyañjanas*. According to Rājanighaṇṭu:[293]— व्यञ्जनं सूपशाकादि मिष्टान्नं तेमनं स्मृतम् । उपदंशो विदंशः स्यात्संधानो रोचकश्च सः । Hemacandra in his Abhi. Cin. says व्यञ्जनं तु घृतादिकम् ।[294] Monier-Williams Dictionary (p. 1029) explains *vyañjana* as anything used in cooking or preparing food, seasoning, sauce, condiment.

V. S. Agrawal, writing on Pāṇini, says: "Whereas *miśra* articles are mixed at the option of the eater, the use of *vyañjanas* is obligatory to make the

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[291] I am thankful to Pandit B. L. Shanbhogue of the Oriental Institute for this information.

[292] I am thankful to Mrs. N. S. Samarth for the information.

[293] *Dhanvantarīya-Nighaṇṭu and Rāja-Nighaṇṭu* (Ānandāśrama Sk. series, no. 33. Poona, 1925), p. 412.

[294] *Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi* (Bhavanagar ed.), 3. 61, p. 164. Hemacandra commenting writes—व्यज्यन्ते रसविशेषा अत्र व्यञ्जनम् ॥

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food tasteful. Pāṇini takes *vyañjana* in the sense of *upasecana* (*i.e.* ingredients of seasoning to improve the taste, IV. 4.26, *Vyañjanair-upasikte*), as an example of which Patañjali mentions *dadhi* (curds) (*annena vyañjanam*, II. 1.34) and Kāśikā on Pāṇini II. 4.12 mentions both curds and butter (*dadhi-ghṛtam*). The nature of any dish determines whether a particular article bears to it the relation of a *vyañjana* or *miśrīkaraṇa*, *i.e.*, an indispensable or optional ingredient of mixing. For example, the Kāśikā takes *gṛhta* as an article both for mixing and for seasoning the food (*Kāśikā* on VI. 2.128 and 154)." [295]

In the GVM. (p. 31), it is said that excellent varieties of Pṛthukas were available in Gauḍadeśa. [296] The Pṛthukas when mixed with sugar and milk, and brought by the delicate hands of the fair sex, attracted everybody. *Cipiṭakas* were also prepared in Gauḍedeśa, according to the GVM. (p. 32). In fact this was and still is common to almost all the parts of India. *Cipiṭaka* is modern *Cevaḍā* or *Civaḍā* in Hindi and Gujarati. The Bhāvaprakāśa says:—

शाल्यः सतुषा आर्द्रा भृष्टा अस्फुटितास्ततः ।
कुट्टिताश्चिपिटाः प्रोक्तास्ते स्मृताः पृथुका अपि ॥ १७६ ॥
पृथुका गुरवो वातनाशनाः श्लेष्मला अपि ।
सक्षीरा बृंहणा वृष्या बल्या भिन्नमलाश्च ते ॥ १७७ ॥ [297]

We have referred to several preparations from works like the Bhojanakutūhala, Kṣemakutūhala, Bhāvaprakāśa which supply information for the same age as the GPM. GVM., and all these works may be regarded as giving us the data for a period roughly between 15th and 17th centuries A.D. Similar and sometimes earlier data is available, for a study of food and drinks in ancient India, in the Varṇakasamuccaya, Vol. I, and in the Varṇaratnākara of Jyotirīśvara. A further investigation into works in different regional languages of India would give us much more evidence, not only for food and drinks, but for other objects such as textiles and costumes, weapons of war etc. To cite only one instance, Mukteśvara, the famous Marathi poet who lived in c. 17th century A.D., has referred to several articles of food in his Marathi Mahābhārata. Mukteśvara lived in Paiṭhaṇa (Pratiṣṭhānapur). It is interesting to note that while the Bhojanakutūhala and the Kṣemakutūhala do not refer to *metakūṭa* Mukteśvara refers to the nice flavour of spicy *metakūṭa* in his Virāṭaparva, 8.88. Mukteśvara's description of the dinner party at the time of Abhimanyu's marriage, given below, may be compared with similar Varṇakas in the Varṇakasamuccaya, Vol. I.—

'हळदि उटणें येरे दिवसिं । अमंत्रणे सोयीरियासी । सवेंचि ऋषि आणि राजयासिं । याचकासी बहुमान ॥ ५६ ॥ कनकताटें येक पंक्ती । रत्नवाटिया वोप देति । हेमटाणवयांवरि दीप्ती । रत्नदीप लाविले ॥ ५७ ॥ सूक्ष्म ओदन

295 *India As Known To Pāṇini*, p. 102.

296 For *Pṛthukas*, see p. 17 above.

297 *Bhāvaprakāśa*, (Banaras ed., *Op.cit.*,), 6.12.176-177, p. 578.

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श्वेतवर्णि । पाहातां जिह्वां निघति नयनिं । चंद्रमा आणि वसंत दोन्हि । वर्णवासा वेधले ॥ ५८ ॥ जया रुचि जें आवडे । तेणें तेचि सेविजे कोडें । यालागि पंचवरान्नें गोडें । ओदनानिकटिं वाढिलीं ॥ ५९ ॥ सेंवया सरळी मालतिया । गऱ्हले वोटवे कुसुमकळिया । विजाकृति आळलिया (v. l. वळलीया)। क्षीरसाखरि सुस्वादें ॥ ६० ॥ कोरवडे कथिकावडे । दधीवडे मधुवडे । चिंचवडे द्राक्षवडे । रायावडे अरुवार ॥ ६१ ॥ घृतीं पत्रलीया घृतपुरिया । सुरस श्वेताहुनि गुळवरिया । साखरमांडे मांडे (v. l. पूर्ण) पुरिया । क्षीरघारिया (v. l. सारोळ्या) अरुवारा ॥ ६२ ॥ तिळवे लाडु सेवयांचे । भीतरि चारु बीजाचे । खसखस खर्बुजी बिजाचे । शुभ्र सोजीचे अरुवार (v. e. फणसबीजांचे साजिरे) ॥ ६३ ॥ अक्रोट बादाम फळबीजाचे । सूरस पञ्चिगी कंदाचे । अतं पुरवावया जिऱ्हेचें । गणेश जाहाला वऱ्हाडि ॥ ६४ ॥ चणकपिष्ट बुंजियाचे । स्वादा वेधुनि जिऱ्हा नाचे । नारेळ सारख खर्जुरीचे । फणसबीजाचे साजिरे ॥ ६५ ॥ खाज्या करंजा अनारिसें । फेणिया घृतपुरिया सुरसें । लुचया रेवडिया बत्तासें । शुद्ध शर्करा निर्मिळी ॥ ६६ ॥ मुगवडिया मुगघीरडी । मुंजी सुकुमारतां गाढि । वेंढण्या (वेढगिया v. l.) भक्षितां आवडि । मुखपालटा कारणें ॥ ६७ ॥ वाळा कर्पुर सुवासीं । उदक वोपिती हेमकळसीं । भोजनि भागले तयासि । वाळविजणें विजति ॥ ६८ ॥ सर्व कर्मीं ब्रह्मभावना । पुर्ण प्रतिति उपजवि मना । तेवि वाढितां वरि लवणा । अपूर्णता असेना ॥ ६९ ॥ घारगे खांडविं अमृतफळें । अतिरस अपाल सह केळें । अधिक मासीं महिमागळे । ते अपुप वाढिले ॥ ७० ॥ अरुवार सोजीच्या पोळीया । नावतचूर्ण कोंदलीया । सपीट कानवले टोळियां । कर्दळीगर्भासारिखे ॥ ७१ ॥ वांगीं तोंडलि पडवळें । दोडके कारलीं भोपळे । कुहांळि कांकडिया कोमळें । गोड वाळकें परिपाकीं ॥ ७२ ॥ पत्रशाखांत चक्रवर्ति । चाखवत अळुशाकिनि मेथी । कडोंचि कोमळें तळिली घृति । अती अरुवार काचरिया ॥ ७३ ॥ बेले नेपति आवळे । कांकडे कखंदे सालफळें । भोकरि मायिणि सेंवगे मूळे । कोंभ कोमळ वंशाचे ॥ ७४ ॥ आंबे आले निंबे सुरस । हळदि कचूरिया सूवास । सुरण मीरे पिंपळी घोंस । कुहिरिया आणि खरसिंगें ॥ ७५ ॥ ऐसीं लोणचिं चाखतां वोंटिं । अरुची पळे बारा वाटीं । जैसें धन्वन्तरियाचे दृष्टी । रोग पळति दशदिशा ॥ ७६ ॥ तिळवे लाडु सेवयालाडु । चारोळिया गोडंबियाचे लाडु । खसखस फणस बीचाचे लाडु । अक्रोट खर्बुजी बीजाचें ॥ ७७ ॥ चणकपिष्ट बुंजियाचें (v. l. वडियाचे) अरुवारपणें जिह्वा नाचे । घारगे पोळिया खांडवियाचे । ग्रास घेति पालटें ॥ ७८ ॥ नवनीत साजूक सद्यस्तप्तें । वाटिया उचंबळति घृतें । येकें शोधिलिं नवनीतें । येकें थिजलिं सुवासें ॥ ७९ ॥ दधिसारें दुग्धसारें । पयें आटीली तवक्षीरें । परम भाग्याचे जेवणारे । जे जेविति ते पंक्ति ॥ ८० ॥ गाळूनि चंद्रकळाचा रस । माजि मेळविल्या सुवास । ते कथिकेचा घेतां वास । परते म्हणति आमृता ॥ ८१ ॥ समुद्रमथनिचें अमृत । गोडि देऊनि अमर करित । तेथिच्या उदका न घालवे हात । खारवणि म्हणुनि ॥ ८२ ॥ तेवि कामधेनुच्यां तक्रें । कथिका शेवितां देवशक्रें । अमृतातें म्हणें वक्रें । कळकटलें बहुकाळिचें ॥ ८३ ॥ तक्रतिंथणी अमळकि । वोदनसारि जंबिरनिंकि । अडकिमुग्दलि कुलथकी । उपचार केले सुस्वादें ॥ ८४ ॥ बदरि अम्र कपित्थ चुर्णें । अंबुसोल अंबुस रसनें । मरिचसारें पित्तशमनें । दक्षिण देसीजन सेविति ॥ ८५ ॥ ऐसीया नानाविधा कथिका । भिन्न जाल्या ज्या पांका । अश्वादितां मूखा । मोदन चाले द्विगुणी ॥ ८६ ॥ नाना शाकरसाचि सारें । वोदनसंगि अत्यंत मधुरें । जे सेवितां कुपीथ्यवारे । कदाकाळीं बाधीना ॥ ८७ ॥ सांड्यां कुरवड्या पापडवडे । आळणे सांबारि स्वादिष्ट गोडें । कोशिंबिरि रायीती मिरगुंडे । मिथ्याकुटें (v. l. मेथकुटें) मघमघती ॥ ८८ ॥ कृष्ण भोक्ता जिये पंक्ती । भोजन करि परम अर्ति । तया पंक्तिकाराचे किति भाग्य मुखें वर्णावें ॥ ८९ ॥ अम्ररस रायकेळें । पिकोनि उलली गंगाफळें । पेंडाळु रताळु गुळगुळे । कपित्थ सारें सूवासें ॥ ९० ॥ ऐसिया फळाचीया सीळरणी । जेविल्या जाहाली चंद्रधणी । शाखाचेनि सुवासें गगनि । वेधु उपजवी नीर्जरा ॥ ९१ ॥ फळमुळशाखा पत्रशाखा । खंदशाखा पुष्पशाखा । त्याच्या स्वादु सेवितां मुखा । शाकंभरि स्वयें जागें ॥ ९२ ॥ लवणशाखाचिया श्रेणि । दध्योदनाच्या सांघातिणि । दधितक्राचिये मिळणि ब्रह्मानंदु भोक्तयां ॥ ९३ ॥ × × × तेरागुणाचि तांबुलें । वऱ्हाडी वरिलें परीमळें । वस्त्राभरणीं मळपाळें । मेदिनिपाळ पुजिले ॥ ९६ ॥ × × ×[298]

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[298] *Mukteśvara-kṛta Mahābhārata Virāṭparva*, ed. by D. S. Pangu (Poona, 1953), pp. 128-134. Acc. to the editor (Intro. p. 39), Mukteśvara was born in c. Śaka 1496 = 1574 A.D.

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Mukteśvara has described the dinner party at the Rājasūya-sacrifice, in his Sabhāparvan, chp. 9.[299] I am quoting below a few verses :—

शर्करेचिया वाळवंटी । घृतसरिता धांवती लोटीं । दुग्धनदीच्या संगमवेटीं । पायसान्नें निपजलीं ॥ ९८ ॥ दधिमधूचें सरोवर । समुद्रातुल्य महाथोर । कोरूनि कनकाचे गिरिवर । हेमरांजणीं शिखरिणी ॥ ९९ ॥ ओदनाचे चन्द्रावळ । वरन्नाचे कनकाचळ । नवनीताचे हिमाचळ । द्रोणाचळ शाकांचे ॥ १०० ॥ × × × घारिया म्हणती, 'अमृतभक्षा । व्यर्थ झालासी सहस्राक्षा । आमुचे रूप होवोनि मुक्षा । सेव्य श्रेष्ठा नोहेसी ॥ १०३ ॥ हृदय वोपोनि भगवंतीं । पारगे घारियांचें प्रीती । येऊनि धर्मयागाप्रती । प्रिय झाले पितरांतें ॥ १०४ ॥ × × पूर्णचंद्राचीं मंडळें । कथिकावटक अतिसोज्वळें । प्रेमें द्रवतां अमृतफळें । रूप झालें कथिकेचें ॥ १०६ । × × पूर्णचंद्राचिया रातीं । गगनी भरे शुभ्र दीप्ती । ते काढोती कुशल हातीं । रूप केलें मांडिया ॥ १०७ ॥ भरितें माजला क्षीरसिंधु । माजी पहुडला परमानंदु । तेवीं गुळवरियामाजील सुस्वादु । दे आनंद भोक्तयां ॥ १०८ ॥ × × अंतरीं अनुभवाची गोडी । म्हणोनी लोकदृष्टी सुरडी । कानवले नव्हती हे बिकडी । कांनवले प्रपंचीं ॥ ११० ॥ बाह्य दिसती येरां ऐसे । परी ते अंतरीं अनारिसे । अनंत सद्गुणी खसखसे । उभयभागीं डवरिले ॥ १११ ॥ खाज्या करंज्या अमृतफळें फेण्या घृतपुरिया हो सकळें । खर्जुरी द्राक्षें जंबूफळें गोधूमसारें निर्मिलीं ॥ ११२ ॥ × × लड्डुक देखूनि विनायक । नृत्य करीत प्रसन्नमुख । × × × खसखस बदरीफळबीजाचे सुकुमारपद्मिणीकंदाचे । तिळवे निःशेष तिळगुळाचे । शर्करेचे बतासे ॥ ११५ ॥ सूक्ष्म शेवयांचे पूर चणकपिष्टाचे अरुवार । लाडू भक्षितां जेवणार वेडाविती गणेशा ॥ ११६ ॥ सत्ववृत्ती पूर्णपोळिया... येळामिरी मघमघितीं ॥ ११७ ॥ वळवटें वळिलीं कुशलहस्तीं । एक सारंगश्रृंगाकृती । एक पैं गंगेआंतौतीं । विकासली शतपत्रें ॥ ११८ ॥ × × × अष्ट वटक अष्ट शिखरिणी । पंच भक्ष्यें पंच वरान्नीं । दशप्रकार शाकाश्रेणी । जे कां षड्स वोलिजे ॥ ११३ ॥ अनेक परींच्या कोशिंबिरी । लवणशाका सहस्रवरी । कुटें आणी सांबरी रायतीं तेथें विचित्रें ॥ १३४ ॥ पापड सांडगे सांड्या । तिलवणें कडकणें कुरवडिया । मिरगुंडी मुगवडिया । काचरिया सुतळीव ॥ १३५ ॥ × × ×

Another such description occurs in the Vanaparvan, ch. 11 of Mukteśvara. In Sabhāparva, ch. 10, Mukteśvara's Mahābhārata obtain some names of ornaments etc. Those Parvans of Mahābhārata which were composed by Mukteśvara are full of cultural data for the age in which the GVM. was composed. Sabhāparvan ch. 12 for example refers to the different *upāyanas* sent by different chiefs from all quarters. In Sabhā., ch. 15, (D. S. Pangu's ed., pp. 202 ff.) we obtain a big list of several kinds of garments which are removed by Duhśāsana from the person of Draupadī, and which were miraculously supplied by the grace of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. They include names like अंशुक, क्षीरोदक, जासवन, पाटाऊं, तगटीवस्त्र, पट्टकूळ with forms of ten avatāras, साउलीं, चुनडिया, etc., which deserve a special study.

In chp. 7 of the Sabhāparvan (*ibid.*, pp. 85 ff) is described the wrestling between Bhīma and Jarāsandha. The occurence of the word वज्रमुष्टी in v. 25 in this context is interesting; cf.—भीमे भैरवाकार दृष्टी । हृदयीं वोपिली वज्रमुष्टी । सोडवूनि मगरमिठी । झिंझाडोनि लोटिला ॥ २५ ॥ ** दोन्हीं कोपर दोन्हीं मुष्टी । च्यारि आघात वोपिले पृष्टीं । मागध क्षोभोनि उफराटी । हुमणी हाणी मस्तकीं ॥ २७ ॥ *** तळवे तळपणें चपेट झडपा । ताडितां द्वोघे दाटती धापा । उडिया टाकिती सकोपा । येरायेरां मस्तकीं ॥ ३४ ॥ ** Similar descriptions of duels between Bhīma and Kirmīra in Mukteśvara's Vanaparva, ch. 2, vv. 54-60 or between Bhīma

[299] *Ibid.*, *Sabhāpvarvan*, ed. by D. S. Pangu (Poona, 1949), vv. 73 ff, pp. 112ff.

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and Kīcaka in Virāṭaparva, 3. 140-48 are noteworthy. A detailed cultural study from Mukteśvara's works is a desideratum.

Concluding Remarks

Passages of the character of Varṇakas, collected and studied, from works like the above, composed in different languages (*e.g.* Gujarātī, Marāṭhī, Tamil, Telugu, Malayālam, Kannaḍa, etc.) would help us to draw a very interesting picture of the material culture of the different parts of India, in different periods of Indian history.

In Gujarātī literature, for example, interesting data about food and drinks can be obtained from Uṣāharaṇa of Vīrasiṁha, Okhāharaṇas of Nākara, Bhālaṇa and Viṣṇudāsa, from Kṛṣṇalīlākāvya of Kāyastha poet Keśavarāma and so on. The different texts of the Mādhavānala-kāmkandalā-kathā edited in the G.O. Series (vol. 93) or the Pṛthvīcandra-caritra in the Prācīna-Gurjara-Kāvya-saṁgraha published in the G.O. Series (vol. 13), or works like the Kānhaḍade-prabandha are full of data of the type of varṇakas.

The GVM. and the GPM. indirectly serve the purpose of texts like the Varṇaratnākara of Jyotirīśvara. A study of the origin and development of different forms of literature of this type would be interesting. For example, works like the Buddhist Mahāvyutpatti or Jaina Aṅgavijjā provide, under different sections, much more cultural data than any single Varṇaka texts known hitherto.

The word varṇaka (*vaṇṇao*) is used in Jaina canonical literature for a fixed form of description which is to be read at relevent places in different canonical works where only the beginning words or phrases of such descriptions are given in the texts. A similar tendency is also seen in Pāli texts, in what is known as *Peyyāla*.[300]

Works like the Varṇaratnākara of Jyotirīśvara are meant for writers and poets who desire to compose literary works. Works on *Kaviśikṣā*, like the Kaviśikṣā of Vinayachandra (13th century) or the Kāvyakalpalatā of Amaracandrasūri (with his own comm.), include some such ' varṇakas ' for those who aspire to write poems, etc. The GVM. and the GPM. are, on a very modest scale, works meant for those who wish to obtain proficiency in reading, writing and speaking in Sanskrit. But they have rendered much more service to our age in reconstructing a history of our material culture.

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[300] *Peyyāla* in Pāli, see, Childer's, *Pāli-English Dictionary*, p. 379; and Rhys Davids & Stede, *Pāli-English Dictionary*, p. 95.

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